DOCTRINE AND INSTITUTION IN JAPANESE TENDAI BUDDHISM: A STUDY OF JIE DAISHI RYŌGEN (912-985)

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the relationship between the revival of the study of Tendai doctrine and the concurrent institutional reformation of Japanese Tendai led by Ryōgen (912-985), the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji, during the tenth century. When Ryōgen entered Enryakuji on Mount Hiei in 923 as a novice, the practitioners devoted little effort to the study of Tendai doctrine that was the basis for their meditative practices. After the founder Saichō (767-822) died, doctrinal studies had been progressively disregarded. Further, institutional secularization led to an erosion of monastic discipline during the early Heian period (794-1191). As a scholar and administrator, Ryōgen rekindled interest in the study of Tendai doctrine and initiated institutional reform during his tenure as abbot of the Tendai school (966-985).

The ingenuity of Ryōgen's leadership as the abbot of Enryakuji lay in his vision integrating doctrine and institution. In order to restore institutional integrity and revitalize the study of doctrine, Ryōgen emphasized three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas, one vehicle (*ichijō* or *ekayāna*), buddha-nature (*busshō*), and bodhisattva precepts (*bosatsukai*). Although Tendai masters before Ryōgen also appreciated these ideas, Ryōgen promoted

Tendai's unique interpretations of one vehicle, buddha-nature, and bodhisattva precepts, and applied these ideas institutionally by means of doctrinal debates, public lectures, and communal rituals.

Instead of relying on his charisma, Ryōgen institutionalized these ideas to instill in his community a renewed sense of identity and to articulate its distinctiveness from other Buddhist schools. Under Ryōgen's leadership, Japanese Tendai developed into the largest and most influential Buddhist community in Japan with a community of three thousand priests residing on Mount Hiei. Ryōgen's efforts established the foundation for the doctrinal and institutional traditions that emerged during the Kamakura period (1192-1333). Founders of the Kamakura Buddhist movements, such as Hōnen (1133-1212), Dōgen (1200-1253), Shinran (1173-1262), and Nichiren (1222-1282), all emerged from the Tendai school reformed by Ryōgen. At Enryakuji Ryōgen is remembered as the "second founder of Mount Hiei (*Eizan chūkō no so*)."

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The following abbreviations are used throughout this dissertation.

DSD: *Jie daishi den*

EYK: *Eigaku yōki*

KBS: *Kuin bukkakushō*

OSK: *Ōwa shūron nikki*

SBN: *Sōgō bunin*

SDK: *Sanmon dōshaki*

SID: *Jie daisōjō shūiden*

SJD: *Jie daisōjō den*

Taisho: *Taisho shinshū daizōkyō*

TRK: *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*

TRY: *Tendai zasu Ryōgen yuigō*

TZK: *Tendai zasuki*

For the full citations of these texts, see the bibliography.

For the identification of historical Japanese figures, I indicate only family name and first name for the first appearance. Thereafter, I generally cite first name only according to the convention of Japanese historical studies. I do not, however, add the Japanese word '*no*' between first and last names, thus Fujiwara Morosuke rather than Fujiwara-no-Morosuke.

For the calendrical years of pre-modern Japan, I do not adjust the difference between Gregorian calendar and lunar calendar. All days and months are

according to the Japanese lunar calendar; years have been changed to the corresponding common era dating. For example, the fifth day in the ninth month of 985 does not refer to May 9, 985, but refers to the fifth day of the ninth lunar month of 985.

For translations of technical terms in Japanese Buddhism, I generally follow the usage in *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* by Hisao Inagaki (Kyoto: Nagata bushōdō, 1984) and *Supplement to A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms* by the same author (Kyoto: Nagata bushōdō, 1988).

For the readings of Japanese Buddhist terms and names, I generally follow the conventions used in *Bukkyō jiten* edited by Ui Hakuji (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1938).

INTRODUCTION

The Japanese Tendai school, established by Saichō (767-822) during the early Heian period (794-1191), originated from his small private retreat on Mount Hiei, which is located in the south western corner of Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture. As a result of active propagation by Saichō and his disciples, the small retreat evolved during the ninth and tenth centuries CE into Enryakuji, one of the largest Japanese Buddhist institutions. As the headquarters of the Japanese Tendai school, Enryakuji supervised a large number of branch temples and manors throughout the country.

The institutional foundation of the Japanese Tendai school began to erode during the mid-tenth century. Tendai arrived from China relatively late (it was officially introduced in 805), and the official clerical community represented by the Buddhist schools established during the Nara period (710-794) was reluctant to recognize it formally. At that time, the established Buddhist schools received financial support from the central government; Tendai priests, however, had to rely on private sector support. In order to attract patrons, Tendai priests utilized novel esoteric rituals. These rituals promised instant rewards and appealed to the aristocratic officials of the

imperial court, who were involved in political intrigue and thus not unsurprisingly feared angry spirits. The preoccupation of the priests with esoteric practices resulted in a neglect of their study of traditional Tendai doctrine, and they were unable to clearly articulate the school's doctrines and practices. The institution lost public confidence and self-identity, and suffered the decline of morale and discipline in the Tendai priestly community.

Jie Daishi Ryōgen (912-985) appeared during the period when the Tendai school began to erode. Ryōgen, the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji, rekindled interest in the study of Tendai doctrine and initiated institutional reform during his tenure as abbot of Enryakuji (966-985). At Enryakuji Ryōgen is remembered as the "second founder of Mount Hiei (*Eizan chūkō no so*)." His efforts established the foundation for the doctrinal and institutional traditions that emerged during the Kamakura period (1192-1333). Founders of the Kamakura Buddhist movements, such as Hōnen (1133-1212), Dōgen (1200-1253), Shinran (1173-1262), and Nichiren (1222-1282), all emerged from the Tendai school reformed by Ryōgen.

This dissertation examines the relationship between the revival of the study of Tendai doctrine and the concurrent institutional reformation of Japanese Tendai led by Ryōgen during the tenth century. In this dissertation I will demonstrate how Ryōgen almost single-handedly transformed Tendai into the most influential Buddhist tradition in Japan. In order to articulate the significance of Ryōgen's impact, I will focus on three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas which Ryōgen integrated into the Tendai institutional structure, one vehicle (*ichijō* or *ekayāna*), buddha-nature (*busshō*), and bodhisattva precepts

(*bosatsukai*). Ryōgen promoted these ideas by means of doctrinal debates, public lectures, and communal rituals. By means of these doctrinal principles, he successfully restructured the institution of the Japanese Tendai school.

Ryōgen's significant achievements have been given only cursory consideration in modern studies of Japanese Buddhist history. Indeed, those few who have devoted their attention to Ryōgen's work have been primarily interested in the institutional history of the Japanese Tendai school.[1] Serious historiographical examination of Ryōgen's life and his works was first taken up by Hori Daiji.[2] The discovery in 1966 of a long missing supplement to Ryōgen's official biography by Kushida Ryōkō also revealed details of his life.[3] A comprehensive biography of Ryōgen was published by Hirabayashi Moritoku in 1976.[4] Ogami Kanchū made significant contributions in a few

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[1]Compared with Saichō, Ennin or Enchin, Ryōgen's contribution to the development of Enryakuji had been little recognized in academic Japanese Buddhist studies. Approximately ninety academic and semi-academic articles have been written about Ryōgen since the late Meiji period (1868-1912). One third of the articles appeared in 1984 in a single volume as a collection of works on Ryōgen, titled *Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*. (Eizan gakuin, ed., *Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū* [Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984]. For a list of works related to Ryōgen up to 1984, see "Jie Daishi kankei chosaku mokuroku oyobi kenkyū ronbun mokuroku," in *Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*, 326-333.

[2]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō),"*Jinbun ronsō*, 10 (1964): 24-55, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," *Jinbun ronsō*, 12 (1966): 1-34, "Ryōgen no *Nijurokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," *Shisō* 25 (1967): 12-39, and "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," in *Genshin*, Nihon meisō ronshū, vol. 4, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1982), 205-232. Hori also wrote a biographical overview of Ryōgen, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," in *Tendai shū*, Shūhabetsu Nihon no Bukkyō: hito to oshie, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1986), 213-268.

[3]*Jie daisōjō shūi den* (A supplement to the biography of the Great Archbishop Jie).The text was compiled by a monk Bonshō, who was a disciple of Ryōgen, in 1032. See Kushida Ryōkō, "Jie daishi den no shin shiryō ni tsuite," *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū kiyō*, 14, no. 2 (1966): 507-513, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, "Shinshutsu *Jie daishi den shiryō* dasoku," *Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 11 (1976): 61-73.

[4]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1976). Hirabayashi has another short article on Ryōgen, "Ryōgen to Eizan no chūkō," *Rekishi kyōiku* 12, no. 6 (1964): 16-22.

articles which examined Ryōgen from the perspective of the institutional development of the Tendai school.[5] To date, only two articles on issues related to Ryōgen's achievements have been published in English, and these by the same author, Neil McMullin.[6] These two papers are valuable resources for understanding the historical and political background of Ryōgen as well as of Japanese Buddhism, during the Heian period. This dissertation is indebted to these scholars for their historical and historiographical studies of issues related to Ryōgen.

Until now, however, modern historical scholarship has put the study of doctrine beyond the scope of their academic discussions as though it is a clearly separate discipline, or limited their discussions of doctrine to understanding the politico-economic aspects of society.[7] Accordingly modern

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[5]Ogami Kanchū, "Ōwa no shūron to shūyō gika no kakuritsu," *Tendaigakuhō* 12 (1971): 58-68, "Jie daishi *Nijūrokujōshiki* to Tendaishū kyōdan," *Okuda Jiō sensei kiju kinen: Bukkyōshisō ronshū* (Tokyo: Heirakuji shoten, 1976), 339-354, and "Jie daishi no Tendaishū goji: *Sōgō bunin* yori," *Eizangakuin kenkyūkiyō.* 6 (1984): 17-34.

[6]Neil McMullin, "The Sanmon-Jimon Schism in the Tendai School of Buddhism: A Preliminary Analysis," *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies,* 7 (1984), 83-105, and "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," in *The Lotus Sūtra in Japanese Culture,* George Tanabe and Willa Tanabe, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 119-141. The former discusses Ryōgen's responsibility in the major institutional schism of the Tendai community which occurred during the late tenth century. The latter discusses the significance of ritual related to the *Lotus Sūtra* in Ryōgen's successful career as an administrator.

[7]The attitude of historical scholarship that tends to ignore doctrine is represented by the works of Hirabayashi and Hori. They succeed in reconstructing the historical life of Ryōgen through meticulous examination of numerous historical documents. Yet they never elaborate the significance of Ryōgen's doctrinal views which made his institutional reform possible. The second type, which limits the discussion of doctrine to the politico-economic sphere, is found in modern Japanese historical scholarship such as Kuroda Toshio's theory of "*ken-mitsu taisei* (exoteric-esoteric structure)." Kuroda maintains that although there are many variations, fundamentally "a mixture of esoteric and "exoteric" (*kengyō*) teachings and rituals characterized all Japanese Buddhist schools form the Nara period down to the modern age." (Neil McMullin, "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religions," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* 16, [1989]: 12.) Kuroda's theory provides

scholarship has yet to give proper historical recognition to Ryōgen's skillfully crafted revival of doctrinal studies and institutional reform which not only made the Tendai school the most influential Buddhist tradition during the Heian period, but also provided doctrinal and institutional foundations for new Buddhist movements during the Kamakura period. In order to acknowledge Ryōgen's workmanship as a scholarly administrator, in this dissertation I will focus my study of Ryōgen on how his revival of doctrinal studies successfully infused fundamental Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas into the Tendai institutional structure.

In Part One of this dissertation, "Development of Japanese Buddhist Institutions: Seventh to Tenth Centuries," I will present a brief overview of the historical and social context of Japanese Buddhist institutions. This section introduces the historical and social ethos in which Ryōgen lived. I will focus on two issues: 1) the formation of Japanese Buddhist institutions and the concomitant development of the Buddhist clerical community; 2) the development of the Japanese Tendai school during the ninth and tenth centuries CE. During this period the imperial rescript system (*ritsuryō-sei*)[8]

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modern historians with a useful analytical formula for understanding politico-economic structures of pre-modern Japanese society. His application of doctrinal concepts are, however, only limited to that purpose. This type of academic approach is also found in one of Neil McMullin's articles on Ryōgen in which he discusses the *Lotus Sūtra* and rituals solely from the politico-economic context of tenth century Japan. (See Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 119-141.) For Kuroda's *ken-mitsu taisei* theory, see Kuroda Toshio, *Nihon chūsei no kokka to shūkyō* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1975) and *Ōbō to Buppō* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1983).

[8]A collection of prohibitive and disciplinary regulations (*ritsu*) and civil and administrative codes (*ryō*) established during the late seventh century. The system was supported by a taxation system based on the state controlled land tenure system (*kubunden*) and household registration system (*koseki*). The imperial rescript system is an adaptation of the civil bureaucracy modeled on the administrative and legal system of T'ang China. The system,

and the superintending clergy system (*sōgō-sei*) regulated and supervised Buddhist institutions.[9] The decline of the imperial rescript system during this period provided the clerical community with an opportunity to expand its social-political influence. Enryakuji, the head temple of the Japanese Tendai school, developed its institutional foundation by incorporating provincial temples and transforming them into affiliated branch temples. It also garnered the patronage of the emperors and the Fujiwara family which controlled the imperial court.

In Part Two, "Life of Jie Daishi Ryōgen," I will review Ryōgen's life by referring to the biographies of Ryōgen and other historical documents and studies. I divide his life into three periods: 1) early life and formative period (912-962), during which time Ryōgen emerged as a scholarly Tendai priest

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however, differed from the T'ang system in having, for example, the Department of Shrines (*Jingikan*), which administered the religious affairs of the imperial house and provincial *kami* shrines, side by side with the Council of the State (*Dajōkan*), the highest administrative office in the imperial court. Although it did not have real political functions, *Jingikan* took legal precedence over the *Dajōkan* and conveyed to the imperial house its divine supremacy over the civil bureaucracy system. See George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958), 67-74.

[9]*Sōgō* comprises the state appointed priestly officers, who were in charge both of superintending Buddhist priests and nuns (*sōni*) and maintaining the rules (*kōi*) of the Buddhist order. There were three main ranks of superintending clergy, archbishop (*sōjō*), bishop (*sōzu*), and superintendent (*risshi*). Later each of these three ranks were further subdivided: great archbishop (*daisōjō*), archbishop (*sōjō*), archbishop of the lower rank (*gonsōjō*); great bishop (*daisōzu*), great bishop of the lower rank (*gondaisōzu*), minor bishop (*shōsōzu*), and minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*); great superintendent (*dairisshi*), superintendent of the middle rank (*chūrisshi*), and superintendent of the lower rank (*shōrisshi*).

The system was established under the imperial rescript system during the late seventh century. The imperial court acknowledged the autonomy of the Buddhist clerical community, but in order to regulate the clerical community the court appointed superintending clergy to maintain clerical registration and to oversee behavior and impeach clerics who misbehaved. The office of the superintending clergy (*sōgō-sho*) was first established at Yakushiji in Nara. The head administrator of the office was called *hōmu* (administrator of clerical duties). He was assisted by *igishi* (supervisor of the rules of conducts) and *jūigishi* (assistant for the supervisor of the rules of conducts). The office was moved to Ninnaji in Kyoto in 1167. For the fundamental roles of the superintending clergy system within the imperial rescript system, see Nakamura Kyoko, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), 18-21.

skilled both in doctrinal debate and in administrating the Yokawa priory of Enryakuji; 2) period of reforms (963-972), when, as the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji, Ryōgen consolidated secular power and the priestly order and successfully reestablished the doctrinal and institutional integrity of the Tendai school; 3) fame and controversy (972-985), the period in which Ryōgen laid the foundation for the future development of the Japanese Tendai school, as well as for subsequent internal conflicts resulting from his inclination to favor his own disciples.

In Part Three, "Ryōgen's Vision of Japanese Tendai Buddhist Doctrine and Institution," I will analyze how Ryōgen reformed the Tendai institution by putting doctrine into practice. As the head administrator of Enryakuji, Ryōgen stressed that the three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas of one vehicle, buddha-nature, and bodhisattva precepts are not simply concepts but vital principles for the survival of Tendai praxis, community, and institution. In order to implement his vision Ryōgen institutionalized these ideas by establishing official doctrinal debates, promoting public lecture meetings, and reaffirming bodhisattva precepts as a discipline of the Tendai Buddhist community. Toward the end of the Heian period, Ryōgen's integration of Tendai doctrine and institution went beyond the Tendai clerical community by making the ideas of one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts into the norms of the spiritual life of the Japanese.

This dissertation is based on critical readings of Ryōgen's writings and related historical documents. Specifically, the review of Ryōgen's life is based on three major biographies and additional historical records and documents.

The biographies are *Jie daisōjō den*[10] (Biography of the Great Archbishop Jie, 1031), *Jie daisōjō shūi den*[11] (A Supplement to the Biography of the Great Archbishop Jie, 1032), and *Jie daishi den*[12] (Biography of the Great Master Jie, 1396).

In order to ascertain the historicity of these biographical sources, I consulted public documents, such as records of the imperial court, the Tendai school, and other Buddhist institutions, as well as diaries of court nobles. These records shed light on the social and political context of Ryōgen's age. I will also refer to modern historical studies on Ryōgen's life and works, especially studies by two Japanese scholars, Hirabayashi Moritoku and Hori Daiji.

As a part of my dissertation I have translated: 1) *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*[13] (Invocation of the Tendai Abbot Ryōgen), and *Tendai zasu Ryōgen yuigō*[14] (Tendai Abbot Ryōgen's Dying Instructions), two documents on

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[10] I rely primarily on the edition of *Jie daisōjō den* found in *Shinkō gunshoruijū*, vol. 3, (Tokyo: Meicho fukyūkai, 1977), 826-840. There is also a shorter version of the text, which is perhaps a copy of an earlier edition, which is stored in Sairaiji at Ise (Mie prefecture). The text was edited and published by Yamaguchi Kōen in 1935. See Yamaguchi Kōen, "Sairaiji bon *Jie daisōjō den* kō," *Eizan gakuhō*, 9 (1935): 1-22.

[11] The text was edited and published by Kushida Ryōkō, "Shinshiryō shōkai: *Jie daisōjō shūi den*, fu *Jie daishi eshi matsu*," *Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 8 (1974): 82-92.

[12] I use the edition of *Jie daishi den* found in *Zoku gunshoruijū*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha, 1904), 735-743.

[13] The original by Ryōgen in *kambun* (Sino-Japanese) text is a significant cultural item and is stored at Rozanji in Kyoto. A photo reproduction of the text is available in *Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*: 335-342. An edited text is available in *Heian ibun*, Komonjo hen vol. 2, edited by Takeuchi Rizō (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1974), 431-440.

[14] The original by Ryōgen, in *kambun*, is a national treasure and stored at Rozanji in Kyoto. A photo reproduction of the text is available with an edited text, introduction, and a Japanese reading (*yomikudashi*) by Hirabayashi Moritoku. *Heian: Jie Daishi, Jihitsu yuigō*, edited by Komatsu Shigemi with introduction by Hirabayashi Moritoku, Nihon meiseki sōkan

institutional regulations by Ryōgen; and 2) *Ōwa shūron nikki*[15] (A Record of the Ōwa Debate). These documents reveal Ryōgen's motivation for integrating doctrine into institutional structure. These documents have not previously been rendered into English.

Working Definition of "Doctrine" and "Institution"

Two influential scholars of pre-modern Japanese religions, Neil McMullin and Jamie Hubbard, have recently become embroiled in a heated discussion over the definition of "doctrine" and its relation to "institution."[16] This discussion focuses on issues which are, methodologically and historically, closely related to the topic of this dissertation. I will preface my own analysis of this topic by first recapitulating the gist of this controversy and then clarifying my use of these disputed terms.

Neil McMullin initiated the discussion in his 1989 article "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religion"

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vol. 13 (Tokyo: Nigensha, 1977). The edited text is also available in *Heian ibun,* Komonjo hen volume 2, 441-448, and in *Shinkō gunsho ruijū,* folio 443, vol. 19, (Tokyo: Meicho fukyūkai, 1977), 292-298. For the analysis of the original text, see also Fujimoto Bun'yū, "*Jie daishi goyuigō* kō," in *Ganzan Jie daishi no kenkyū,* 217-228, and Asukai Shuntatsu, "*Jie Daishi goyuigō* ni tsuite," in *Ganzan Jie daishi kyūhayaku gojikkaiki onki kinengō,* (Sakamoto, Shiga: Hieizan senshūin shuppanbu, 1935), 41-48 (reprinted in *Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*).

15Original in *kambun*. The text is available in *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho,* vol. 124 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1917), 87-89.

16Neil McMullin, "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religion," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* 16, no. 1 (1989): 3-40, and "Which Doctrine? Whose 'Religion'?: A Rejoinder," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* 19, no. 1 (1992): 29-39; Jamie Hubbard,"Premodern, Modern, and Postmodern: Doctrine and the Study of Japanese Religion," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies,* 19, no. 1 (1992): 3-27.

(henceforth *HH*) published in 1989. In the article McMullin criticizes biases in the modern study of pre-modern Japanese religions which result from reading history as the study of doctrine or as the "great ideas" of "great men." McMullin shows that in some cases, such as that of the pre-modern monastery and shrine complex on Mount Hiei (*HH*, 10-12), politico-economic aspects of religion were far more significant than "other-worldly" doctrinal concerns. He maintains that "were we to rank religious institutions, rituals, and doctrines in order of their relative importance in pre-modern Japanese societies, institutions would rank first, rituals second, and doctrine last." (*HH*, 12)[17]

Jamie Hubbard, however, criticizes McMullin's view in "Premodern, Modern, and Postmodern: Doctrine and the Study of Japanese Religion" (henceforth *PMP*) published in 1992. He claims that McMullin's definition of "doctrine" is too restrictive: "Doctrine is simply something taught, especially

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[17]McMullin argues that "Religion's importance in Japanese history was due primarily to the religious institutions, notably the monastery-shrine complexes, which made a tremendous impact—artistically, economically, educationally, literarily, politically, socially, and so forth—on society for over a millennium." (*HH*, 10-11) For example, on Mount Hiei "there were, in every age, scholarly clerics who produced doctrinal tracts, but the primary activity of the vast majority of the clerics over the centuries appears to have been not so much the production and study of doctrinal tracts but the learning, practicing, and performing of rituals." (*HH*, 11)

Concerning ritual, he says that "In early and medieval Japan, the vast majority of rituals appear to have had less an 'other-worldly' (having to do with the monks' attainment of enlightenment or salvation) than a 'this-worldly' (*genze riyaku* 現世利益) purpose. From the earliest days, as shall be discussed later, the most important rituals were performed for the stability and protection of the state. Other rituals were frequently performed for the purpose of bringing about the realization of specific, practical goals (the safe birth of a child, deliverance from sickness, the designation of a certain imperial prince as crown prince, and so on), and those rituals were usually performed at the court or in the residences of the wealthy patrons of the monks who performed them. Clerics who performed efficacious rituals—that is, rituals that were believed to have brought about the intended effects—were rewarded by the rituals' patrons with finances, grants of land, promotion to high offices in the religious communities, appointment to the *sōgō* 僧綱 (the council that oversaw all matters pertaining to Buddhist monks and monasteries), and court titles. Thus, just as the rituals served the court élite, they also served as the coinage whereby clerics could purchase power and prestige." (*HH*, 12)

something taught as a principle or tenet of a given system or institution," which includes the "worldview" and "practices" and "the object of individual and communal belief of a particular tradition." (*PMP*, 7) He criticizes McMullin's relegation of "doctrine" to last place by pointing out that "the importance of Saichō's vision of the *Lotus Sūtra* was indeed a crucial factor in his persistent efforts to establish a Mahāyāna ordination procedure." (*PMP*, 11)[18]

Responding to Hubbard's critique, McMullin in "Which Doctrine? Whose 'Religion'? A Rejoinder" (henceforth *WW*) published in conjunction with *PMP*, contends that their disagreement occurs because he and Hubbard "use different definitions of doctrine (his broad and mine narrow)." (*WW*, 29) He criticizes Hubbard's inclusion of "popular belief" of the "masses" within the definition of "doctrine" because one "ends up with *sic-et-non* definitions" which pervaded other dimensions of religious traditions, such as rituals and institutions. Therefore, "belief is not a meaningful category (one might wish to make the same argument about ritual and institution, two other notoriously difficult notions to confine)."(*WW*, 31) I believe that McMullin's restrictive usage of "doctrine" is more appropriate to Ryōgen, who was among the doctrine-making élite monks. I will employ McMullin's notion of "doctrine" in my dissertation in order to clarify Ryōgen's privileged position

[18]Hubbard, in *PMP*, maintains that, "even if we do restrict our usage of doctrine to those esoteric notions of Buddha-nature and emptiness propounded by the 'great men' and grant that these were neither understood nor of moment for the vast majority of Japanese, it still does not follow in any way that such ideas and those that propounded them were not important in the development of Japanese religion." (*PMP*, 11)

as doctrine-maker.[19]

In this dissertation the word "doctrine" refers to a formal set of official teachings on the beliefs of a specific group. This defines the term more narrowly than such usages as "something simply taught" or the "worldview or practice taught" within a tradition, and more specifically than "the object of individual and communal belief" maintained within a religious community. Whether "doctrine" be presented to selected people or the general public, it must be mastered in most cases through formal study of scriptures and commentaries. And more specifically, in the case of the Tendai school, doctrine must be located in the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* and other related scriptures and commentaries.

As Hubbard worries,[20] however, the narrow definition of "doctrine" tends to disregard other aspects of religiosity, such as "worldview," "practices" and "the object of individual and communal belief of a particular tradition."

19McMullin, in *WW*, says that "Doctrines, no matter how other-worldly they might appear to be, are often complicit with the fabric of power and privilege in the societies in which they thrive if only by saying nothing about those matters. Thus, the problem is not the other-worldliness of Buddhist doctrine, but the 'other-worldly'ization' of it at the hands of some scholars. Moreover, the view that as a rule doctrinal systems are not the product of the populace does not imply that the masses had only mundane concerns. It would be absurd to deny that the masses were concerned about the activities of gods, bodhisattvas, spirits of all sorts, etc. The problem, once again, is that word 'doctrine.'" (*WW*, 31-32) He warned that "To employ the broad definition of doctrine is to obscure the privileged position of the doctrine-makers and the ideological character of most doctrine, which are disclosed by use of the narrow definition of the term." (*WW*, 32)

20Hubbard says, "Being myself primarily concerned with the economic and social institutions of the Buddhist tradition and their relation (or lack thereof) to normative doctrinal and cultic statements, I was especially interested in how McMullin would theoretically relate his concern for the social dimension of Japanese religions to the spiritual and doctrinal claims of the practitioners. I was particularly intrigued as I was interested at the time in the role that doctrine plays in modern Japanese Buddhism..., an aspect of contemporary Japanese religiosity far more neglected in scholarship than the societal dimensions of premodern Japanese religion." (*PMP*, 3-4)

(*PMP*, 7) When a religious community, including both clerical and lay, is the subject of the discussion, these so-called "popular beliefs of the masses" must be given proper recognition. These aspects of religiosity, however, should not be reduced to mere facets of the contemporary "general cultural discourse." (*PMP*, 16) Such effacing of concrete individual experiences by abstract general terms should be rejected at all cost. In order to satisfy these conditions, in this dissertation I will discuss "popular beliefs of the masses" in the context of particular "institutions."

Adhering to its conventional application in sociological analysis, this dissertation understands "institution" as that which "mediate[s] the relations between self and world,"[21] on the basis of "normative patterns" which express "a set of mutual expectations" held by a group of people, organizations, or historical and cultural traditions.[22] An "institution"

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[21]Robert N. Bellah, Richard Madsen, William M. Sullivan, Ann Swidler, and Steven Tipton, "Appendix: Institutions in Sociology and Public Philosophy," in *The Good Society* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 287.

[22]Bellah, et al., in their "Appendix," summarize the sociological understanding of "institution": "It is fundamental to understand that institutions mediate the relations between self and world. Meeting another person with no institutional context is a situation of anxiety and, possibly, fear. We don't know what to expect. We don't to know how to act. The first thing we do in such a situation is attempt to find some common ground, some language or even gesture, that will call up a set of mutual expectations about what is appropriate—for example, a welcoming wave or handshake that promises hospitality—after which we can negotiate what we are doing together. To put it in sociological terms, we can then organize an action that operates under the mutual expectations we have implicitly acknowledged. If we fail to establish common expectations, our anxiety level rises and it is difficult for us to engage in organized action with the other party. Indeed, at that point the interaction likely breaks down into fight or flight. But 'a set of mutual expectations' is already an incipient institution, with built-in ideas about how to act and implicit notions of right and wrong.

"Our relations to the natural world are also mediated by institutions. Even the enjoyment of the wilderness by a solitary hiker is mediated by a whole set of social understandings about 'nature,' the place of human beings in it, and the feelings nature should awaken in ourselves. Organized relations to the natural world—agriculture, mining, manufacturing, etc.—are of course mediated by institutions. This is why problems of ecology, natural or social, always involve institutions.

"Institutions also mediate our ultimate moral (and religious) commitments. Not only

generally incorporates the normative customs, practices, relationships, and behavioral patterns of human life in organizations or foundations peculiar to a particular community or society.[23] Therefore the usage of the term "institution" in this dissertation broadens to include "objects of individual and communal belief," such as rituals, practices, or worldview. Institution is a medium shared among the members of a community or society and include such organizations as the Tendai school, the imperial rescript system, or the superintending clergy system.

Hence, "doctrine" serves as or conforms to a standard normative within an "institution." In turn, an "institution" publicly legitimates "doctrine" by ensconcing the normative roles of "doctrine" in a particular community or society. The relationship between "doctrine" and "institution" may not always be harmonious. An existing "institution" may be challenged by its members on the basis of the "doctrine" which they claim to uphold, or the validity of certain "doctrines" may be called into question through the inadequate performance of "institutions."[24]

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are our moral and spiritual beliefs and attitudes learned in institutional contexts (however informal the contexts and however we may modify those beliefs and attitudes in terms of our individual experiences), but institutions themselves are premised on moral (and religious) understandings, what sociologists call ultimate values. Various institutional spheres—the economy, politics, the family, etc.—embody and specify culturally transmitted ultimate values in terms of what is right and wrong, good and bad. These normative patterns not only indicate the ends and purposes of our actions but set limits to the means used, validating only those that are morally acceptable. As we have noted, institutions operate not only through informal understandings, the mores, but also through law." (Bellah, et al., "Appendix," 287-288.)

[23]Bellah, et al., "Appendix," 287-288.

[24]Bellah, et al. say, "In this conception of institution as patterns of normative, which is to say moral, expectations, the presumption is that institutions are in their very nature moral. But this does not itself legitimate their existing forms; rather it opens them to serious moral debate. Existing institutions can and frequently are challenged on two kinds of moral ground. One is that they do not live up to the moral purpose claimed for them. ....

"The other challenge calls into question some of the basic value assumptions that lie

The relationship between "doctrine" and "institution" is reciprocal and symbiotic. The existence of the Japanese Tendai school as an "institution" established within a particular socio-political context may secure or challenge the survival of the "doctrine" of the Tendai school. The doctrinal studies of Tendai scriptures may either promote or obstruct institutional development of the Japanese Tendai school. The problem which Ryōgen encountered at Enryakuji during the tenth century was described as an imbalance or a lack of harmony between "doctrine" and "institution." My study will clarify Ryōgen's understanding of "doctrine" and "institution," and how he created a sustainable collaboration of "doctrine" and "institution" during the tenth century on Mount Hiei, where the Japanese Tendai school flourishes even today.

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behind our institutions. ... If the central value system is flawed then it is more than likely that many of its institutional specifications will be problematic as well. Institutional change must then involve changing the value system, most likely through drawing alternative ones that already have some standing in the society,.... We have argued that our institutional problems are deeply rooted in our central values, so it follows that we believe serious institutional reform in the absence of change in the central values is not likely to succeed." (Bellah, et al., "Appendix," 288.)

PART ONE

Development of Japanese Buddhist Institutions: Seventh to Tenth Centuries

Chapter One

Foundation of Japanese Buddhist Institutions

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, "Formation of Japanese Buddhist Institutions and Development of the Buddhist Clerical Community," I will give a brief overview the development of Japanese Buddhist institutions before Ryōgen's time. First I will discuss the development of the eight official Buddhist schools. I will especially focus on the political background of their formation. Second I will briefly consider the Japanese Buddhist temple system from the early Nara period to mid-Heian period. I will follow the rise of the privatization of Buddhist institutions and the decline of the public temple system. Third, I will consider the formation of the official Buddhist clerical community, analyzing how the religious function of clerics turned from that of servant of the state during the Nara period to that of private spiritual consultant during the Heian period.

In the second section, "Development of the Japanese Tendai School during the Ninth-Tenth Centuries," I will briefly present an overview of the development of the Japanese Tendai school before Ryōgen. First I will turn to the formation of the Japanese Tendai school. Second I will discuss the

development of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, the head temple of the Tendai school during the ninth and tenth centuries. Third I will consider the expansion of esotericism in the Japanese Tendai school, which propelled Tendai's institutional formation during the early Heian period. Fourth I will analyze Tendai's institutional fragmentation which gradually surfaced during the ninth and tenth centuries. In particular I will attend to the inter-relationships which link the growth of the prayer-offering-temples on Mount Hiei, the emergence of Tendai esotericism, and the fragmentation of the Tendai's institutional structure.

1. Formation of Japanese Buddhist Institutions and Development of the Buddhist Clerical Community

About a century after the official introduction of Buddhist icons and scriptures into Japan in 538,[1] interest in the formal study of Buddhist doctrine gradually gained in popularity.[2] By the mid-eighth century the imperial court officially recognized six schools of Buddhism as independent entities of

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[1]Official introduction of Buddhism to Japan was marked by the visit of an envoy from Paekche (Kudara) to the Yamato court. This envoy brought a statue of Śākyamuni Buddha, ornaments, and several scriptures. Buddhism, however, seems to have been transmitted to Japan prior to this official date, mainly through immigrants from continental Asia. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1984), 13.

[2]The presence of Buddhist scholastic traditions occurs as early as the seventh century CE. For example, a Korean scholar, Ekan (ca. 7th century), introduced the Sanron school in 625. A monk, Dōshō (629-700), studied the Hossō doctrine in China and returned to Japan in 661. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 75-76.

Buddhist studies.[3] These were the Kusha (Chüshê, Abhidharmakośa), Jōjitsu (Ch'êng-shih, Satyasiddhi), Ritsu (Lü, Vinaya), Hossō (Fa-hsiang, Yogācāra), Sanron (San-lun, Mādhyamika) and Kegon (Hua-yen). These schools were customarily referred to as the Six Schools of the Southern Capital (*nanto rokushū*), since they were established during the mid-Nara period and headquartered in Nara.[4]

Historical records show that other academic faculties, such as the Betsu Sanron, Shōron, and Shutara schools, also existed during the Nara period. The identification of these schools were, however, not clear and they declined or were absorbed into other major faculties. In addition there was interest in esoteric Buddhist studies, and many scriptures and icons of esoteric Buddhist deities were introduced during the Nara period. Esoteric Buddhism seemed to be fairly popular, although the transmission of its lineage and method of practices were neither official nor systematic.[5] The esoteric Buddhist practices antecedent to the Heian period were called *komikkyō* (archaic esotericism).[6]

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[3]During the Nara period, the state encouraged the study of Buddhist doctrine and supported the development of academic divisions within the priestly community. Names of Buddhist schools began appearing in official documents during the eighth century. The first reference to Buddhist schools appeared in the decree of Chancellor (*dajōkan*) in 718. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 72-73, and Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura, trans., *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition: The Nihon ryōiki of the Monk Kyōkai* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973), 16.

[4]Two documents which recognized the Six Nara Schools dated in 747 and 751. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 73, and Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*, 16.

[5]Taikō Yamasaki points out that by the Nara period "there were many esoteric sutras and works of Buddhist art in Japan. It seems likely that esoteric forms of practice were also carried on there even before Nara period. Such practices included incantation, rain-making, averting misfortune, bringing good fortune, healing, and prolonging life." (Taikō Yamasaki, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism* [Boston: Shambhala Publications, 1983], 23.)

[6]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 90-91.

These six officially recognized schools were considered to be independent academic divisions of Buddhist studies rather than independent religious institutions.[7] Major state temples in Nara had the facilities to teach all six schools within their monastic complexes.[8] Among the six schools, the doctrine of three schools, Hossō, Sanron, and Kegon, became major academic divisions. The doctrines of the Kusha and Jōjitsu schools were, on the other hand, not developed as independent academic studies. They were studied as sub-divisions of the Hossō and Sanron schools respectively.[9]

Although the ecumenical formation of the six schools within the major state temples was maintained, the institution became gradually came to be identified with a specific school. The faculty of the Hossō school became dominant in Kōfukuji and Gangōji. The scholars of the Kegon school considered Tōdaiji their head temple. The study of Sanron doctrine was popular in Daianji.[10] Toward the end of the Nara period, the popularity of the Hossō school rose above that of the other schools, making it preeminent over the six schools. The Hossō faculty, especially the faculty at Kōfukuji, began dominating the administrative positions of the clerical community.

The emergence of the Hossō school's power reflected political rather than academic influence. Kōfukuji, the headquarters of the Hossō school, was

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[7]Ibid., 72-74.

[8]For example, in Tōdaiji, each schools had its own library, altar, office, and administrative officers. See Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*, 16, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 72-74.

[9]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 80.

[10]Ibid., 75-78.

originally founded as the clan temple (*ujidera*) of the Fujiwara family.[11] Therefore the Fujiwara family favored of the advancement of the priests at Kōfukuji. The Sanron and Kegon schools lacked such strong political support and the study of their doctrines were thus neglected.

This imbalance of political power within Buddhist schools was further accentuated by corruption within the clerical community during the end of the eighth century. The elite priestly officers of the Hossō school began to interfere in state politics.[12] For example, two Hossō priests, Genbō (-746) and Dōkyō (-772), who attended the imperial court as spiritual assistants, were eventually ousted from their positions because of their political meddling and abuse of power. Accordingly, Emperor Kammu (737-806, r. 781-806) did not allow any major Buddhist institutions to relocate to the new capital, Heian-kyō[13] (present day Kyoto) in 794.[14]

Emperor Kammu was alarmed by the misconduct of the priests of the

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[11]Nakatomi Kamatari (614-669) who led the Taika reform (645) is the founder of the Fujiwara family. Kamatari became the first Fujiwara when he was given the family name, Fujiwara, at his death bed from Emperor Tenji (626-671, r. 668-671) in 669. During the early Nara period, the Fujiwara family split into four major lineages: the northern branch (*hokke*), the southern branch (*nanke*), the capital branch (*kyōke*), and the ceremonial branch (*shikike*). Among the kinship groups of Fujiwara family, the northern branch, especially the Regent's house (*sekkanke*), monopolized the major governmental positions during the Heian period. For the development of the Fujiwara family and its monopolization of the imperial court during the Heian period, see G. Cameron Hurst III, "The Structure of the Heian court: Some Thoughts on the Nature of 'Familial Authority' in Heian Japan," in *Medieval Japan, Essays in Institutional History*, John W. Hall and Jeffrey P. Mass, eds. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press) 39-59, and George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, 56-57.

[12]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 103-105.

[13]Heian-kyō, literally "city of peace and tranquility," was the imperial capital of Japan from 794-1869. For the historical development of Heian-kyō, see John W. Hall, "Kyoto as Historical Background," in *Medieval Japan: Essays in Institutional History*, 3-38.

[14]Paul Groner, *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School* (Berkeley, California: Berkeley Buddhist Study Series, 1984), 13.

Nara schools, and wanted to free the state from such clerical intrigue. The emperor was, however, not anti-Buddhist. In order to fulfill the spiritual demands of the new capital city, he allowed the admission of two new Buddhist schools, Tendai (T'ien-t'ai) and Shingon (Chên-yen, Mantra) by two ambitious young priests, Saichō (767[766]-822) and Kūkai (774-835), respectively to be established. Saichō and Kūkai were relatively minor figures in the academic community. Both had reputations as rigorous practitioners. Saichō and Kūkai were on the same state envoy ship to China in 804. Saichō returned to Japan in 805, while Kūkai returned in 806.[15]

Emperor Kammu favored these new Buddhist schools, because they focused on meditative practices and rigorous monastic discipline. The emperor was especially partial to Saichō's Tendai school. He gave the Tendai school official state recognition in 806, about six months after Saichō returned from China. Saichō was also permitted to establish a temple on Mount Hiei located to the north-east of the new capital, later called Enryakuji. The temple was dedicated to train priests for the Tendai school.[16] Kammu's successors, Emperor Heizei (774-824, r. 806-809) and Emperor Saga (786-842, r. 809-823) promoted Kūkai's Shingon school.[17] In 816 Saga granted Kūkai Mount Kōya in Kii province, now Wakayama prefecture, to train his students in esoteric

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[15]Although the teachings of the Tendai and Shingon schools were known through their texts and unofficially practiced during the late Nara period, the academic faculties of these schools were not established within the state temples, until Saichō and Kūkai transmitted the scriptures, rituals, and lineage of these schools from China. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 111-125.

[16]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 114-115, Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 69-71, and 269.

[17]Both emperors were received esoteric *kanjō* ceremony (*abhiṣeka*) from Kūkai. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 125.

practices.[18]

Saichō and Kūkai, however, developed their monastic centers by taking opposing stances towards the existing Six Nara Schools. Saichō decided to free the Tendai school from the interference of the Six Nara Schools by proposing to the imperial court in 818 and 819 that the Tendai school be allowed to have an independent ordination platform exclusively for Tendai priests. His proposal met with strong opposition from the Six Nara Schools led by the Hossō school and by the office of superintending clergy strongly opposed his proposal. The imperial court did not approve his request until 822, a week after Saichō died.[19]

Kūkai, however, erected the Shingon school within the framework of the existing Six Nara Schools. Unlike Saichō, Kūkai avoided conflict with the Six Nara Schools by ordaining his disciples along with the priests of the other Buddhist schools. Kūkai even propagated Shingon practices among the priests of the Six Nara Schools by appealing to the efficacy of the novel esoteric practices.[20] The state eventually came to recognize the Shingon school as a distinct tradition, and in 823 Kūkai was given Tōji in the capital to be used exclusively for the training of Shingon priests.[21] In 835 the Shingon

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[18]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 122.

[19]Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), 252-255.

[20]In Nara, Kūkai was allowed to build a *kanjō-dōjō* (*abhiṣeka* ordination hall) at Tōdaiji to transmit the lineage of the Shingon school in 822. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 121-122.

[21]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 122.

school was awarded state accreditation as an independent Buddhist school.[22]

The introduction of these two new schools during the early ninth century with imperial support broke the institutional domination of the Hossō school. The Hossō school, however, retained much of its power as the leader of the Six Nara Schools with the support of the Fujiwara family. By Ryōgen's time the institutional power of Japanese Buddhism was roughly divided into three competing factions: the Hossō school of Kōfukuji, the Tendai school of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, and the Shingon school of Tōji in Kyoto.[23]

Another factor important to the understanding of Buddhist institutions during the time of Ryōgen is the interaction between state and private temples. During the Nara period the imperial court developed the state temple system to promote Buddhism. The officially recognized schools received support from the state which provided them with facilities and funds to support doctrinal studies. First the state granted the title of great-state-temples (*kandaiji*) to the major temples in the capital of Nara and maintained them with state funds. The first great state temple was Dai-kandaiji, later renamed Daianji, established in 676. During the eighth century, seven major temples, Daianji, Yakushiji, Gangōji, Kōfukuji, Hōryūji, Tōdaiji,

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22Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 122.

23Each faction had its own vision of Japanese Buddhist institution. Within the Six Nara Schools the idea of "school (*shū*)" stood for the "faculties" within the academic divisions for the study of Buddhist doctrine. For the Tendai priests, however, their "school" was an "organization" which was institutionally independent from the Six Nara Schools. From the perspective of the Shingon priests the Shingon "school" was best described as an "alternative approach" to Buddhist practice, because it embraced the exoteric doctrine both of the Six Nara Schools and of the Tendai school.

and Saidaiji, all located in Nara, were granted the status of great-state-temple.[24] These temples hosted all academic divisions of Buddhist studies and were supported by revenue from the public estate donated to each temple.

During the reign of Emperor Shōmu (701-756, r. 724-749), the state temple system was expanded to the provinces. In 741 the emperor issued an edict to build a provincial temple (*kokubunji*) and a provincial nunnery (*kokubun'niji*) in each of the sixty-six provinces.[25] In 752 Tōdaiji was built in Nara as the head temple of the provincial temple system.[26] The provincial temple system, however, was not popular. According to the edict, each province was required to build full-size temples with twenty monks and ten nuns in residence, regardless of its economic situation. Provincial temples in poor provinces were mismanaged and soon deteriorated. Construction and administration of the temples depended on often unreliable local tax revenues and many of the provincial temples were never completed.[27]

In contrast to the unpopular provincial temple system it became

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[24]The temples were established both by influential clans and by emperors either for their own welfare or in memory of their imperial forbears during the pre-Nara period. The temples established by the wish of emperors were called *ōtera* (great temple). The first *ōtera* was founded in 639 according to the wish of Emperor Jomei (592-641, r. 629-641). See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 38-39.

[25]Twenty monks were stationed at each provincial temple and ten nuns for each nunnery. At each provincial temple monks and nuns held regular services to recite the *Konkōmyō-kyō* and offered prayers for the peace of the nation. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 58-63.

[26]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 65-70.

[27]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 63-64. For the historical and historiographical study of the *kokubunji*, see Baba Akira, *Kokubunji nihyakunen shi* (Tokyo: Shinjinbutsu ōraisha, 1981).

fashionable among the powerful figures to build large Buddhist temples which were entrusted to the priestly community of their choice in areas near the capital. Lesser nobles in the provinces soon mimicked this practice. These temples were private establishments and not under direct state supervision. Although the imperial court did not support these private temples, by the mid-Nara period the court began granting semi-official status to a limited number of the private temples. These temples were designated *jōgakuji,* or a licensed-temple. The chief officer of each provincial government registered these licensed-temples which then received financial support under the supervision of the priestly officers in the province.[28]

These privately established temples enjoyed the same tax-exempt status as state temples. Although the temples were registered at each province, the administration of these temples was essentially entrusted to the priests and patrons of the temples and not directly supervised by the provincial government. The deregulation of the government's imperial rescript system further decreased the authority of the provincial government.[29] This deregulation, in turn, spurred temple administrators to ally directly with powerful courtiers in the central government, thus bypassing altogether the provincial authorities.

The powerful families who supervised the temple licensing process also took advantage of their positions by becoming patrons of temples so as to

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[28]Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryō to kizoku seiken, dai nibu* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 1958), 509-517, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi,* 57.

[29]For the process of the erosion of the imperial rescript system, see Kozo Yamamura, "The Decline of the Ritsuryō System: Hypotheses on Economic and Institutional Change," *Journal of Japanese Studies,* 1, no. 1 (1974): 18-29.

convey to themselves the temple's tax exempt estates. Toward the end of the Nara period, the licensed-temple was subject to abuse because of the exploitation of its tax-exempt status,[30] which in turn accelerated the shift from licensed state to licensed private temples. Embezzlement of public property by using the tax-exempt status was rampant.[31]

During the early Heian period, this privatization of Buddhist institutions increased and the imperial court virtually abandoned attempts to regulate them.[32] From this increasing privatization of the Buddhist institutions emerged a new type of private temple, the prayer-offering-temple (*goganji*), in the outskirts of the new capital of Kyoto. Prayer-offering-temples were built to offer prayer for the welfare of the emperors.[33] Like state licensed-temples, privately established prayer-offering-temples were given official recognition. Institutionally a prayer-offering-temple had more freedom than a licensed-temple which was officially under the supervision of the governor of each province. Since the prayer-offering-temple was under the authority of the emperor, it was immune from state interference and exempted from taxation.[34] Once the status of prayer-offering-temple was granted, the administration of the temple was freed from state regulations without also

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30During the Enryaku era (782-806), therefore, there were numerous prohibitions against the acquisition of licensed-temples by courtiers who became their patrons. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 57-58.

31Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1981), 424-425.

32Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryō to kizoku seiken, dai nibu*, 517.

33Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryō to kizoku seiken, dai nibu*, 539-554, and Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū*, 445.

34Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū*, 444-447.

losing its tax-exempt status.[35]

Prayer-offering-temples had other advantages over state temples. The administrators of prayer-offering-temples were under neither the surveillance of the office of superintending clergy nor that of the provincial governor. They were exclusively administrated by the priests appointed by their patrons.[36] Patrons and administrators of the prayer-offering-temples were thus able to accumulate donated estates and private funds across provincial borders without state scrutiny. During the Heian period the prayer-offering-temples on the outskirts of the capital gradually became large estate holders.[37] Although these temples were considered less prestigious than state temples, they were usually financially more stable than the state temples supported by often unreliable regional state taxes.

By the time of Ryōgen the Six Nara Schools, led by the Hossō school, still maintained their influence over the state temple system. The Tendai and Shingon schools, introduced during the early Heian period, competed with each other acquiring the larger share of the newly built private temples.[38] By accumulating prayer-offering-temples these two schools solidified their institutional foundations. Unlike the state temple system, which required the official temples to be open to priests of all official Buddhist schools, the private prayer-offering-temples were allied with individual patrons, who

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[35]Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryō to kizoku seiken, dai nibu* , 554.

[36]Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū* , 448.

[37]Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryō to kizoku seiken, dai nibu,* 539-554.

[38]Hiraoka Jōkai, "Goganji to Fujiwara shi no ujidera," in *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyō shi,* vol. 3: Heian jidai, Hiraoka Jōkai ed. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku shuppan, 1986), 45-53.

monopolized the entire administration of the temple. During the Heian period as the provincial temple system failed, the influence of the Six Nara Schools in Japanese religious politics also declined sharply. The Tendai and Shingon schools, in contrast, were able to expand their institutional power through the rise of the private temples.

As the state increased its control over Buddhist institutions, the tension between the state's authority and the clerical community's desires invariably arose. The state's attitude toward the clerical community was essentially supportive, but it did not want unlimited expansion of the clerical community. From the perspective of the clerical community, however, it appreciated the generous support of the state, but sought wider freedom for the practice of Buddhism.

During the Nara period the legal foundation of the Japanese Buddhist clerical community rested on the superintending clergy system (*sōgō-sei*) that had been put into place during the pre-Nara period. Under the imperial rescript system, a collection of civil and administrative codes (*ryō*) and prohibitive and disciplinary regulations (*ritsu*) initiated during the late seventh century,[39] the state gave official recognition to Buddhist clergy. According to the ordinances for monks and nuns (*sōniryō*) in the imperial rescripts, the Buddhist clerical community was essentially independent of

[39]For the imperial rescript system, see Introduction, footnote 8. See also George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, 67-74.

secular society and was not bound by civil law.[40] Properly ordained priests were exempt from taxation and other civil duties. Their names were removed from their provincial household registers and transferred to the Bureau for Administration of Buddhism and Alien Relations (*genbaryō*).[41] The state legally excluded the clerical community from participating in the internal affairs of the state other than religious issues. In other words all priests were legally considered to be foreigners, even those who had been regarded as native citizens.

The state allowed the clerical community to autonomously administer its internal affairs. The superintending clerics, selected from within the clerical community, maintained the register of the priests and made regular reports to the Bureau for Administration of Buddhism and Alien Relations. Each temple was supervised by senior priests elected to its three administrative posts: (*sangō*), *jōza*, the head administrator of the temple, *jishu*, the supervisor of the institutional administration of the temple, and *tsuina*, the supervisor of the temple community discipline.[42] The state only indirectly regulated the clerical community. It controlled the registration of the priests and maintained the right of appointment and dismissal. The state regulation of the priestly community was supervised through the office of superintending clergy (*sōgō-sho*) in the capital. In the provinces the state

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40For the outline of the ordinances for monks and nuns, see Kyoko Motomochi Nakamura, *Miraculous Stories from the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*, 20-25, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 43-48.

41Bureau for Administration of Buddhism and Alien Relations was under the supervision of the ministry of civil administration (*jibushō*). See Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 274. See also a chart: "*Sōgō* system and the Tendai school" in Appendices.

42Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryō to kizoku seiken, dai nibu* , 536-538.

appointed superintending clerics to oversee the provincial clerical communities.[43]

The state registration of priests aimed to eradicate unlicensed self-ordained priests (*shido sō*) and others who pretended to be priests in order to evade taxation.[44] The imperial court did not intend the imperial rescript system to interfere with the internal affairs of the priestly community.[45] The autonomy of the clerical community was respected so long as they observed the precepts and stayed out of political affairs. But by the end of the Nara period self-regulation had resulted in a corrupt institution: priestly communities were not able to control their orders and priests frequently broke the precepts and were often involved in political affairs. Although self-ordained priests were outlawed, state regulation of the priestly registration was not effectively enforced, and unlicensed priests continued to work popularly among the common people.[46]

During the early Heian period, however, the imperial court under Emperor Kammu repeatedly altered state regulatory policy with respect to the clerical community. In an edict issued in 798 the emperor encouraged Buddhist scholars to study both Hossō and Sanron doctrines. According to another imperial order issued in 801, the office of superintending clergy

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[43]Provincial clerical officers were originally called *kokushi* (provincial master). The title was changed to *kōshi* (lecturer) in 795. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 51-55.

[44]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 48-51.

[45]For example, although the government made the aiding and abetting of self-ordained priests illegal, it entrusted administrators of each temple to enforce the law. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 47-48.

[46]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 105-109.

required all candidates for priestly ordination to take examinations on the doctrines of the Hossō and Sanron schools.[47] In 803 the imperial court ordered the office of superintending clergy to introduce a quota system in the yearly ordinand system (*nenbundosha sei*) based on the annual number of ordinands for each school. The yearly ordinand system originally did not require each ordinand to identify his school affiliation at the time of his ordination. According to the court order, the ten yearly ordinands should be divided equally between the Hossō and Sanron schools. In addition the yearly ordinands were required to study the *Lotus Sūtra, Nirvāṇa Sūtra,* and *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and their commentaries.[48]

The quota system was further extended in 805 in accordance with a proposal submitted by Saichō. The imperial court ordered the office of superintending clergy to apportion the ten slots for the Six Nara Schools, so that there were three ordinands each for the Hossō and Sanron schools, and two each for the Kegon and Ritsu schools. At the same time, the imperial court granted two ordinands for the Tendai school.[49] Three more yearly ordinands for the Shingon school were added in 835.[50] The new state policy did not reverse its fundamental non-interventionist posture toward the internal affairs of the clerical community. But it did restrict the academic freedom of individual priests indirectly interfered with the priestly

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[47]Ibid., 110.

[48]Ibid., *Nihon Bukkyō shi,* 110.

[49]Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū* (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1973), 17-18.

[50]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi,* 122.

community by reserving to the imperial court the right to determine the total annual number of ordinands.

The specific aim of the new quota system was to curtail the power of the Hossō school. During the late Nara period the popularity of the Hossō school doctrine eclipsed the other divisions of Buddhist studies. The major impetus behind the growth of the Hossō school, which had strong ties with the Fujiwara family, was political rather than academic. Many ordinands, wishing to join the Hossō school, sought secular success, which was one of the causes for institutional corruption.[51] The emperor thus became alarmed by the numeric imbalance of priests within the Buddhist schools. In order to remedy this problem the imperial court came up with a quota system, an ingenious solution that did not deviate from the fundamental policy of the imperial rescript system that guaranteed the autonomy of the priestly community.[52]

The legislative separation of the state and Buddhist institutions under the imperial rescript system came to an end when the imperial court approved Saichō's request to establish an independent ordination platform (*kaidan*) on Mount Hiei exclusively for the Tendai school in 822.[53] The priests ordained at this ordination platform were not registered either with the Bureau for Administration of Buddhism and Alien Relations nor with supervised by the office of superintending clergy. Instead the Council of State

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[51]Ibid., 103-107.

[52]Ibid., 109-111.

[53]Ibid., 118.

(*dajōkan*), the highest office in the imperial court, directly issued the certificates of priestly ordination. Registration of the priests was handled internally by the priestly administrators of the Tendai school under the supervision of the lay administrator (*zoku bettō*) of Enryakuji appointed by the imperial court.[54] This ended the monopoly of the office of superintending clergy as the supervisor of the entire clerical community. During the Heian period this system of lay administrator was also adopted by most of the other major temples as well.[55]

By weakening the legislative power of the office of superintending clergy, the state gained the power to intervene in the internal affairs of the clerical community. But this change of system backfired. In order to accommodate the expansion of private temples, the imperial court began granting the yearly ordinands directly to temple administrators, thereby inviting inflation in the number of ordinands.[56] Moreover priests in the private temples fell outside the regulatory power of the office of superintending clergy. By the early tenth century the state had to abandon its attempt to control the clerical community through the registration system of individual priests. Instead the state tried to manage the clerical community by maintaining its influence over administrations of the major temples.[57]

54Kikuchi Kyōko, "Zoku bettō no seiritsu, tokuni 'kanjin' zokubettō ni tsuite," in *Saichō*, Nihon meisō ronshū vol. 2, Shioiri Ryōdō and Kiuchi Gyōō eds. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1982), 392-395.

55Kikuchi Kyōko, "Zoku bettō no seiritsu: tokuni 'kanjin' zoku bettō ni tsuite," 390-433.

56Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū* , 18-22.

57This corresponded with the transformation of the civilian registration system. During the same period of time, the state abandoned the civilian registration system of house holders. The imperial court instead tried to manage taxation by controlling the registration of

By the time of Ryōgen the office of superintending clergy had lost most of its regulatory power. Although the office maintained its spiritual authority over the clerical community, its function was reduced to merely issuing certificates of ordination and honorary titles to the clerics. Increasingly, the state also lost the power to control the clerical community. Although the state preserved its right to intervene in temple administration, the rapid expansion of the private temples made it virtually impossible. Those who benefitted most from the transformation of the clerical community's regulatory system were the powerful courtiers and their contacts among the temple administrators.

The transformation of the regulatory system during the Heian period also drastically changed the character of the clerical community in Japanese society. Under the imperial rescript system Buddhist priests performed rituals for the protection of the state (*gokoku*). The rituals consisted of the recitation of *sūtras* (*tendoku*), *sūtra* lectures (*kōkyō*), and doctrinal debate (*ryūgi*) at the dharma assemblies (*hōe*).[58] Although there were many Buddhist practitioners who either focused on meditative practices outside of the official Buddhist institutions or took their practices to the common people, these activities were considered illegal and were often subject to persecution. The ordinances for monks and nuns (*sōniryō*) in the imperial rescripts prohibited

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estates. See Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1992), 80-87.

[58]The *sūtras* read and preached in the assemblies were mainly the triple *sūtras* for the protection of the state (*gokoku no sanbukyō*), the *Lotus Sūtra, Ninnō-kyō* and *Konkōmyō-kyō*. The standard texts for the *sūtra* lectures were the Chinese commentaries of the Hossō, Kegon, and Sanron schools. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi,* 38.

priests from performing prayer services for private donors.[59]

With the development of private Buddhist institutions, however, restrictions on private practices of Buddhism gradually became unenforced. Buddhist priests now were able to perform religious services either privately or publicly as long as they did not disturb the peace of the state. Although public Buddhist services were still a significant function of the official Buddhist clerics' responsibilities, private services for the welfare of rich donors brought in substantial revenue, which in turn allowed the Buddhist clergy to expand their institutions.[60] Therefore religious services gradually shifted their focus to the private sector.[61] Expansion of private services made the clerical communities financially affluent and politically stable, while also rapidly enlarging number of Buddhist clergy to meet the rising demand for religious services.[62]

The support of rich and famous aristocrats became a major source for development of Buddhist institutions. A number of prayer-offering-temples were built around the capital area to provide private services for rich

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59Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi,* 92, and 97-102.

60Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō* , 85.

61The introduction of esoteric practices by the Tendai and Shingon schools also accelerated the increase in the private practice of Buddhism. The newly introduced esoteric practices by the Tendai and Shingon schools soon captured great popularity among the courtiers in Kyoto. Although the esoteric practices became a significant part of the public services, the officials in the imperial court as well as the emperor himself became patrons of the priests who were skilled in the esoteric practice. See Taira Masayuki, *Nihon chūsei no shakai to Bukkyō* , 85.

62Major temples expanded so rapidly that they resembled independent self-ruled cities. For example, during the Heian period, 3000 clergy resided in Enryakuji, the headquarters of the Tendai school, and 4000 in Kōfukuji, the headquarter of the Hossō school.

patrons.[63] Priests supported by a powerful patron were able to live ostentatious luxury.[64] Although Buddhist priests renounced the secular world, the priestly occupation became very attractive to commoners. By having a family member in the Buddhist community, the family itself acquired the chance for social advancement.[65] As a result of institutional expansion into the private domain, the clerical community, by the time of Ryōgen, had grown into a unique inclusive community which attracted people from various social and geographical backgrounds.[66]

2. Development of the Japanese Tendai School during the Ninth-Tenth Centuries

Much has been written about Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai school. But for present purpose it suffices to say that he was an idealist dissatisfied with the state of Buddhism. According to the *Eizan daishiden*, a biography of Saichō, he entered the provincial temple of his native Ōmi

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[63]These temples also became guardians of family property through the tax exemption status given by the imperial court.

[64]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 166.

[65]Ibid., 167.

[66]During the Heian period the priestly community also began responding to the needs of commoners by offering them religious services. They were generally called *kechien* services or services for establishing a relationship with Buddhism. These Buddhist services, which established direct relationships with lay people, were prohibited under the imperial rescript system. Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 167-170.

province, present day Shiga prefecture,[67] at the age of twelve and studied under Gyōhyō (721-797). He became a novice in 780 when he was fifteen and received the complete monastic precepts at Tōdaiji in 785 to become a resident priest in the provincial temple of Ōmi.[68] Soon after Saichō returned from his ordination at Nara, however, he retreated to Mount Hiei with the hope of developing his spiritual character through meditative practices. Mount Hiei, located on the border of the Ōmi and Yamashiro provinces, was known as a spiritual sanctuary among practitioners.[69]

It was during this period that Saichō became acquainted with the scriptures and teaching of the Tendai school. On Mount Hiei Saichō diligently chanted *sūtras,* practiced meditation intensively and energetically studied Tendai scriptures which had been introduced into Japan.[70] Saichō's rigorous practice and passion for the study of Tendai doctrine was rewarded when the reform-minded emperor Kammu who appointed him as one of ten priests to serve at the imperial court (*naigubu jūzenji*) in 797. In 802, Saichō was invited to the lecture meeting on the *Lotus Sūtra* held at Takaosanji. Saichō's outstanding performance at the meeting convinced Emperor Kammu to send

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67According to Saichō's biography, *Eizan daishiden* and other sources, he was born in 767, in the southern area of Ōmi province (present Ōtsu city). His family were descendants of Chinese immigrants. His father, Mitsu no obito Momoe, was a devout Buddhist. See Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 1-6. A text of *Eizan daishi den* is available in *Dengyō daishi zenshū,* vol. 5 (*bekkan*), Eizan gakuin ed. (Tokyo: Sekai seiten kankō kyōkai, 1975).

68Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 7-19; Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi,* 111-112; and Paul Groner, *Saichō,* 22-26.

69Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 23-25, and Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki* (Tokyo: Tōkyōbijutsu, 1994), 40-41.

70Saichō was most likely acquainted with the Tendai scriptures through reading the works of Chinese Kegon scholars, such as Hōzō (643-712), who mentions the doctrine of the Tendai school. See Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 30-33.

him to China in 802 as a visiting student (*gengakushō*).[71]

Saichō was charged with studying Tendai scriptures and practices, which he was asked to bring back. Saichō left Japan in the seventh month of 804 and arrived in China in the ninth month of the year. While in China, he, of course, visited Mount T'ien-t'ai (Tendai-san),[72] but the pivotal event during his stay was his visit to Lung-hsing-ssu (Ryūkōji) in T'ai-chou (Taishū). There he met Tao-sui (Dōsui, ca. 8th-9th centuries), the seventh patriarch of the T'ien-t'ai school. Saichō stayed several months and collected significant portions of Tendai scriptures at Lung-hsing-ssu.[73] During his stay at Lung-hsing-ssu Saichō received in 805 the transmission of the bodhisattva precepts from Tao-sui, a most significant event.[74] Saichō later developed a unique priestly ordination system based on the bodhisattva precepts which he transmitted from Tao-sui.

After Saichō completed his studies of the Tendai school and was waiting for his ship at Ming-chou (Meishū), he visited Shun-hsiao (Jungyō, ca. 8th-9th centuries), a master of esoteric Buddhism, in Yüeh-chou (Etsushū). Saichō had not planned to learn esoteric practices. He may have first become

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[71]*Gengakushō* was a visiting student required to return after a minimum obligatory period of study. See Tamura Kōyū, Saichō, 53-70, and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 31-39.

[72]At Mount T'ien-t'ai Saichō also received the transmission of the Niu-t'ou (Gozu) school of Ch'an (Zen) from Hsiu-jan. He also received an esoteric initiation called *dai-bucchō-hō* at Kuo-ch'ing-ssu (Kokuseiji). Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 74-83, and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 43-45.

[73]Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 83-88, and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 46-50.

[74]Gishin (781-833), an interpreter for Saichō and later first abbot of Enryakuji, also received the precepts. Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 83.

acquainted with systematic practice of esoteric Buddhism[75] during his stay in China. Although esoteric practices were very popular in China then, they had not yet been officially introduced into Japan.[76] He enthusiastically collected scriptures of esoteric Buddhism and learned its rituals. Due to the lack of time Saichō was unable to collect all the materials and initiations he wanted. Despite this, he became the first to officially bring esoteric Buddhism to Japan.

Saichō returned from China in 805. The next year the Tendai school received official accreditation for its clerical community from the imperial court. In the first month of 806 Saichō presented a petition to the imperial court in which he officially requested the court to grant yearly ordinands to the Tendai school. His petition was soon approved by the office of superintending clergy and the edict of the Council of State was issued on the twenty-sixth day of the first month of 806.[77] As soon as the institutional foundation was laid, Saichō set out to fulfill his vision of the Tendai school as a comprehensive and autonomous Mahāyāna bodhisattva community that would actively contribute to the welfare of society.[78] Under the imperial rescript system the Buddhist clergy were considered to be the servant of the state. Saichō, however, thought that Buddhist clerics should be the spiritual

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[75]Here systematic practice of esoteric Buddhism means practices based on the teachings of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* and *Diamond-peak Sūtra* (*Kongōchō-kyō*). See Taikō Yamasaki, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, 3-4.

[76]Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 83-88, and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 46-50.

[77]By this edict of the Council of State, the Tendai school was for the first time acknowledged as an independent school in the Japanese Buddhist community. Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 95-107.

[78]In 814, Saichō visited Kyūshū and in 817 visited the Eastern provinces of Japan to propagate Tendai teachings. Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō* , 146-157.

leaders of the state. He believed that by promoting Tendai doctrine he would be able to bring Japan peace and prosperity.[79]

Despite his ideals, Saichō's propagation of the Tendai school was limited under the imperial rescript system. He and his priests were under the control of the office of superintending clergy that was dominated by the priests of the Hossō school. In order to realize his vision of an autonomous Mahāyāna order as expounded by the *Lotus Sūtra's* ideal of one-vehicle, Saichō resolved to establish an independent Japanese Tendai.[80]

Saichō focused on two essential institutional systems of the Buddhist clerical community, ordination and priestly registration, to establish the Japanese Tendai school. Saichō requested the imperial court to establish an independent ordination system based on the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts, which had been transmitted to him from Tao-sui in China. In 818, Saichō disavowed the traditional monastic precepts, denouncing them as Hīnayāna (*shōjō*).[81] Therefore, they should be optional for priests of the Tendai school.[82] He presented a proposal in 818 and 819 to the imperial court in

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79Kiuchi Gyōō, "Saichō no kito shitatokoro," in *Dengyō daishi to Tendaishū*, Nihon Bukkyōshi ronshū, vol. 3, Shioiri Ryōdō and Kiuchi Gyōō eds. (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1985), 10-29.

80Asaeda Zenshō, "Saichō no Tendaishū kakuritsu no rekishiteki igi," in *Futaba Kenkō hakase kokikinen: Nihon Bukkyōshi ronsō*, Futaba Kenkō hakase kokikinen ronshū kankōkai ed. (Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1986), 79-80.

81Hīnayāna means "the smaller or lessor vehicle." "Hīnayāna" is a derogatory term generally applied to non-Mahāyāna schools by Mahāyānists who criticizes the practitioners of these schools to be only concerned with their own salvation.

82In the first of the *Shijōshiki* (Four Articles), which Saichō presented to the imperial court in 819, Saichō writes that Tendai priests "will be permitted to provisionally receive a Hīnayāna ordination in order to benefit others." (Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 139.) A text of *Shijōshiki* is available in *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1. For the translation of the text, see Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 138-144.

which he requested an independent ordination platform at Enryakuji.[83]

In his petition, Saichō also proposed that the registration of Tendai should not be transferred to the office of superintending clergy, which was under the jurisdiction of the Bureau for Administration of Buddhism and Alien Relations. Saichō thought that if Buddhist priests were the spiritual guardians of the state, they should not be treated as if they were foreigners. Instead the registration of Tendai priests should be kept directly under the supervision of the Council of State (*dajōkan*), the highest office in the imperial court.[84]

Saichō's lobbying activities at the imperial court inevitably met with strong opposition from the office of superintending clergy.[85] First the office maintained not only that receiving the traditional monastic precepts was mandatory for all clergy but also that the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts were not a part of the monastic discipline alone but a discipline shared with all Mahāyāna Buddhists including lay persons to promote and cultivate their spiritual development. In China, the bodhisattva precepts, especially the precepts prescribed in the *Brahma-net Sūtra* became popular among Buddhists, but had never been considered valid for monastic ordination. As

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[83]See Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 190-222. For the translations of Saichō's petitions and their interpretations, see Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 115-146.

[84]In the first of the *Rokujōshiki* (Six Articles), which Saichō presented to the imperial court in 818, Saichō writes that for the ordinands of the Tendai school, the "title of 'son of the Buddha' shall be conferred upon them, but their original names shall not be removed from the lay register." (Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 118.) A text of *Rokujōshiki* is available in *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1. For the translation of the text, see Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 116-123. For a comparison of the traditional system and new Tendai system of temple administration, see "Sōgō System and the Tendai School," in Appendices. See also Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 274.

[85]Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 222-232, and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 146-158.

the office of superintending clergy pointed out in its response, the Mahāyāna monastic orders in India and China maintained the precepts in common with non-Mahāyāna orders as their basis of monastic ordination.[86] Second the office of superintending clergy claimed that Saichō's proposed registration system, which would bypass the office of superintending clergy, undermined the fundamental principles of the imperial rescript system. The ordinances for monks and nuns in the imperial rescript system clearly indicated that all temple administrators fell under the jurisprudence of the office of superintending clergy.[87] Not incidentally the Tendai school threatened the authority of the Six Nara Schools, especially that of the elite priests of the Hossō school, who controlled the office of superintending clergy.

In 819 Emperor Saga received Saichō's proposal along with its rebuttal by the Six Nara schools. But the emperor did not take quick action in favor of either side. As the late Emperor Kammu, Saga's father, had enthusiastically endorsed the teaching of the Tendai school and had became a major donor, it seemed that Saga would approve whatever Saichō wanted. Yet Saga could not ignore the religious authority of the office of superintending clergy led by the Hossō school, which also maintained strong ties with the Fujiwara family, the most powerful political faction which dominated the powerful position of Regent for the emperor in the imperial court.[88] The emperor was, however,

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86Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 225-232.

87The major issues surrounding the opposition of the office of superintending clergy are known from Saichō's citations in the *Kenkairon*, which he wrote in 820. See Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 222-232. A text of *Kenkairon* is available in *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1.

88The Regent, or *sesshō*, was the acting political administrator for before the emperor came of age. The position was called *kampaku* (or *kambaku*), political advisor to the emperor, after the emperor came of age. The first Fujiwara Regent was Yoshifusa (804-872) who was

personally sympathetic to Saichō's Tendai school, in that he did want to curtail the often abused power of the office of superintending clergy.[89]

Due to these political conflicts Saichō's institutional vision was realized only posthumously.[90] Although the doctrinal and legal issues raised by the Six Nara Schools remained unsolved, and friction between the Tendai school and the Hossō school continued, Saichō's request for an independent ordination system was approved by the emperor in 822, a week after Saichō died. Saichō's proposal for an independent administration and registration system was also approved by the court and put into effect in 823.[91]

Further erosion of the imperial rescript system during the ninth and tenth centuries weakened the protests by the Six Nara Schools against the Tendai school's challenge. Although the office of superintending clergy maintained its religious authority in the public domain, the ensuing trend toward the privatization of Buddhist institutions deprived the office of political power and economic influence. The deregulation of the imperial rescript system and the privatization of the Buddhist institutions benefitted the Tendai school, which was able to develop its institutional foundation without direct confrontation with the Six Nara Schools. By the time Ryōgen became a Tendai priest, the Six Nara Schools had all but abandoned their efforts to contest the legitimacy of the Tendai institution.

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sesshō for Emperor Seiwa (850-880, r. 858-876) between 858-872. See Geroge Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334*, 112-113, and Wada Hidematsu, *Shintei: Kanshoku yōkai*, Tokoro Isao ed., (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1983), 45-47.

89Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 223 and 233.

90Ibid., 245-257.

91Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 267-277. See also Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shisō kenkyū*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1986), 283.

A unique feature of the Japanese Tendai school is its hierarchical temple system Enryakuji on Mount Hiei at its head. Mount Hiei lay to the west of Ōmi province and to the northeast of the capital Kyoto. Saichō first ascended Mount Hiei in 785 and virtually created the Tendai center single-handedly, a project he had begun even before he went to China. The historical evidence is unclear but, according to records kept by the Tendai school, the institutional origin of the Tendai center goes back to 788, when Saichō built a private retreat that consisting of three small buildings. There he had enshrined an image of Yakushi Nyorai (Baiṣajyaguru Tathāgata) he himself carved. His retreat was then called Hieisanji (the Temple on Mount Hiei). Later he added a depository of *sūtras* (*kyōzō*) and a hall for Mañjuśri bodhisattva (Monjudō).[92]

The major institutional development which would transform the retreat into the major monastic order of Enryakuji began after Saichō returned from China in 805. As soon as Saichō returned, he remodeled his small retreat so as to perform rituals for the welfare of the nation at the request of Emperor Kammu. He renamed his retreat Ichijōshikan'in (One-vehicle meditation hall).[93] In addition he built a hall called Hokkezanmaidō

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[92]*Eigaku yōki*, in *Shinkō Gunshoruijū*, vol. 19 (Tokyo: Meicho fukyūkai, 1932), 186-188. See also Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 30. Although the historicity of these accounts are not clear, at least small retreats with library facilities were built that became foundations for the later development of 785-788. Fukuyama Toshio concluded that the completion of the depository of *sūtras* on Mount Hiei was most likely later than 797, but no later than 811. The historical records show that Saichō collected copies of the scriptures with the help of Dōchū (ca. 8th century), a priest very popular in the Eastern regions of Japan and Dōchū disciples. They copied and sent over 2000 volumes of Buddhist canon. See Fukuyama Toshio, "Dengyō daishi jidai no Enryakuji no kenchiku," in *Saichō*, Nihon meisō ronshū, vol. 2, 373-376.

[93]Fukuyama Toshio, "Dengyō daishi jidai no Enryakuji no kenchiku," 376-377.

(the Lotus *samādhi* hall), in which the *Lotus Sūtra* was recited throughout the day.[94]

During the early Kōnin era (810-823) Saichō began formulating major expansion plans for a national center of the Tendai school. Saichō developed a plan to erect six pagoda towers in various locations in Japan. In each tower he planned to enshrine one-thousand copies of the *Lotus Sūtra* believing that the virtue of the *sūtra* would protect the nation.[95] Two towers were to be built in Kyūshū and two in the Eastern provinces. The remaining two were to be erected on Mount Hiei. One was erected in Yamashiro province on the western side of Mount Hiei to protect the nation's capital. And the other tower was erected in Ōmi province on the eastern side of Mount Hiei as a consolidator of the other five towers.[96] Later these two pagodas on Mount Hiei become, respectively, Tōtōin (Eastern Pagoda), and Saitōin (Western Pagoda) and demarcated the two major areas of Hieisanji.[97] In conjunction with the six pagoda towers Saichō proposed the expansion of his temples on

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94Ibid., 378.

95The practice of copying the *Lotus Sūtra* is one of the five virtuous deeds emphasized in the *sūtra*. See Kageyama Haruki, *Hieisanji: Sono kōsei to shomondai* (Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1978), 84-85.

96In 818 the borders of the temple on Mount Hiei were determined in response to Saichō's request. According to the historical documents, the area of the temple on Mount Hiei was roughly estimated as thirty six square *ri* (sixteen square km.) Kageyama Haruki, "Santō kuin jyūrokudani," in *Hieizan to Tendai Bukkyō no kenkyū*, Sangaku Bukkyōshi kenkyū sōsho, vol. 2, Murayama Shūichi, ed. (Tokyo: Meicho shuppan, 1975), 44-47.

97According to a document by Saichō written in 818, Kageyama Haruki and Tamura Kōyū beleive the two pagodas in Kyūshū and two in the Eastern provinces were built in 814 and 817, respectively. Fukuyama Toshio, however, suggests that the two pagodas in Kyūshū were not completed by the time Saichō wrote the document. According to Fukuyama's survey of historical documents, these two pagodas were not finished until the Jōhei era (931-937). Fukuyama Toshio, "Dengyō daishi jidai no Enryakuji no kenchiku," 376-387; Kageyama Haruki, *Hieisanji: sono kōsei to shomondai*, 31-34; and Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 146-157.

Mount Hiei. He designed a complex of nine major buildings, including the two pagoda towers mentioned above. Later he enlarged his plan to include sixteen major buildings.[98]

His grandiose vision, however, collided sharply with actual circumstances. Since the temple on Mount Hiei was a private establishment, Saichō could not expect to receive generous financial support from the state.[99] Lacking financing, most of the buildings were not completed while he was alive, and five of the sixteen buildings were never built at all.[100] The construction of the newly approved ordination hall (Kaidan'in) was not started until 827, five years after Saichō died.[101] The official status of Hieisanji also had not been settled until 823, a year after Saichō's death, at which time Hieisanji was recognized as a prayer-offering-temple in memory of the late emperor Kammu. Emperor Saga granted the official title "Enryakuji" to Ichijōshikan'in at Hieisanji.[102] The title, Enryakuji, was named after the Enryaku era (782-806), the reign of emperor Kammu. Since then, Hieisanji on Mount Hiei has officially been called Enryakuji.

As the Tendai school was established outside the authority of the office of superintending clergy, Enryakuji did not enjoy the same prestige as the

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98Kageyama Haruki, *Hieisanji: sono kōsei to shomondai*, 34-37.

99Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi: tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 71.

100Neither had Tōtō and Saitō been completed by the time of his death. Nor had the construction of the ordination hall (Kaidan'in) been even approved by the imperial court. Among the four meditation halls needed to train students of the Tendai practice, only the Hokkezanmaidō was built. And there were no lecture halls and dining halls at Ichijōshikan'in. See Fukuyama Toshio, "Dengyō daishi jidai no Enryakuji no kenchiku," 389.

101Fukuyama Toshio, "Dengyō daishi jidai no Enryakuji no kenchiku," 388.

102Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 254.

other state temples. Since the time of Saichō, Enryakuji was dependent upon income from private donors. But, Enryakuji, a private foundation, enjoyed greater administrative freedom than the major state temples established under the imperial rescript system. It also had more potential for growth. The weakening of the imperial rescript system allowed for large scale donations to Buddhist institutions and private donors preferred to establish private temples with the Tendai school because of its semi-independent status from the state regulations. As mentioned earlier, the emergence of the prayer-offering-temples very much favored the institutional formation of the Tendai school.[103] Thus the Tendai school grew by taking advantage of the flexibility of its status as a private institution.

By incorporating numerous private temples built in the capital and provinces, the small retreat emerged during the ninth and tenth centuries as one of the largest Buddhist institutions in Japan. Many other prayer-offering-temples were built on Mount Hiei and entrusted to the Tendai school.[104] The temples were conveyed to Saichō's disciples and the temples' administrations were supervised by the head priest, or *zasu* (head of the assembly, or abbot) of Ichijōshikan'in, the abbot of the Tendai school. Through the efforts of Saichō's disciples, the temples on Mount Hiei enlarged steadily. Enryakuji centered around Tōtōin and expanded around Ichijōshikan'in. During the time of the second abbot, Enchō (771-837), the Saitōin area underwent

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[103]Takeuchi Rizō, "Goganji no seiritsu," in Takeuchi Rizō, *Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken: dai ni bu* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 1958), 539-554, and Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū*, 453-483.

[104]During the ninth and tenth centuries, Enryakuji expanded by incorporating prayer-offering-temples, such as Jōshin'in, Sōjiin, and Shiōin, into its complex. Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū*, 474-475.

expansion. Later the area called Yokawa was developed by the third abbot, Ennin (794-864).[105] About one hundred years after the death of Saichō, Enryakuji had became into a complex of prayer-offering-temples with three separate sections, Tōtō (Eastern Pagoda), Saitō (Western Pagoda), and Yokawa in the north.[106]

Soon after the institutional establishment of Enryakuji was established on Mount Hiei, the Tendai school began actively expanding its institutions in the provinces. In 835 the imperial court officially admitted Tendai priests who were assigned to the provincial state temples to be appointed as lecturers (*kōshi*). Tendai priests trained on Mount Hiei were thus permitted to propagate their teachings.[107] In order to consolidate missionary activities in the provinces, by the middle of the ninth century, Tendai priests built extension-temples (*betsuin*) in the provinces.[108] Unlike the state provincial temples, Enryakuji administered their extension-temples.[109] In addition, Tendai priests further expanded their institutional network by incorporating small private Buddhist establishments as branch-temples (*matsuji*) of provincial extension temples.[110] Since these temples were, legally, a part of

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105Hiraoka Jōkai, *Nihon jiinshi no kenkyū*, 467.

106Fukuyama Toshio, "Dengyō daishi jidai no Enryakuji no kenchiku," 389.

107The lecturer was a state appointed officer of limited tenure. Ogami Kanchū, "Dengyō daishi nyūmetsu go no Tendai kyōdan," in *Dengyō daishi kenkyū*, Tendai gakkai, ed. (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1973), 215-221.

108Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 30-42.

109Ibid., 43-51.

110Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 52-61, and Toyoda Takeshi, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōseikaku, 1938), 30-40.

Enryakuji, an essentially private establishment, they eluded the reach of the office of superintending clergy.

By the tenth century the Japanese Tendai school created a nationwide network of branch temples through its extension temples over which Enryakuji presided. During the Heian period the Tendai school gradually became financially independent of the state. It also outgrew the state Buddhist institutions defined under the imperial rescript system by absorbing the private Buddhist establishments of the provinces. The private temples gave the Tendai school easier access to the rich social, cultural and financial resources of the lay community both in the capital and the provinces.[111]

The most significant factor which made the Japanese Tendai school successful during the Heian period was the esoteric Buddhist rituals that Saichō introduced along with traditional Tendai doctrine and practices.[112] Although esoteric rituals were never part of the Chinese Tendai practices, Saichō, who witnessed their popularity among the Chinese people, understood their appeal and the innovativeness of their practices.[113] On his return from China, Saichō began promoting the virtues of esoteric practices to help establish the Tendai school.[114]

111Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 61-68.

112Taga Sōjun, "Shanagō ni kansuru ichi mondai: tokuni shingon ni tsuite," in *Dengyō daishi kenkyū*, 647-665.

113Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendaishū no tanjō to hatten," in *Tendaishū*, Shūhabetsu Nihon no Bukkyō, hito to oshie, vol. 1, Sonoda Kōyū, Setouchi Jakuchō, Kyōdo Jikō, Kiuchi Gyōō, Hori Daiji, and Shima Kazuharu, eds. (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1986), 44.

114Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 113-118.

The esoteric rituals, which promised protection for the state as well as the fulfillment of personal wishes, unexpectedly attracted the immediate attention of the emperor and Heian courtiers. Moreover, the popularity of esoteric practices among the courtiers far exceeded Saichō's expectations. Indeed Emperor Kammu was so taken that, when he granted two yearly ordinands slot to the Tendai school in 806, he assigned one candidate to the study of the esoteric practice of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*shana-gō*) and the other to the study of the exoteric practice of the *Makashikan* (*shikan-gō*).[115]

Saichō's adaptation of esoteric practices to the Tendai school was innovative and timely as it instantly boosted the popularity of his new school. He soon realized, however, that the esoteric practices he introduced were inadequate, since he had only studied esoteric practices for one month in China. The inadequacy of Saichō's esoteric rituals was obvious in comparison to those of Kūkai, which were introduced in 806, only a year after Saichō's returned from China.[116]

The weakness of the esoteric section of the Tendai school at this time is most vividly exemplified by the number of Tendai practitioners who left Mount Hiei after ordination. Between 807 and 816 ten priests were ordained to study esoteric practices. Nine out of the ten left Mount Hiei before completing their required curriculum and joined the Hossō school.[117] Although the doctrine of the Tendai school had no connection to esoteric

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[115]Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 70-71.

[116]Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 113-145.

[117]Nakao Toshihiro, "*Kenkairon* no seiritsu," in *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyō shi*, vol. 3: Heian jidai, 101-103.

practice, Saichō could not abandon the latter, since the imperial court had already requested Saichō to train half of his disciples in esoteric Buddhism (*shana-gō*).

Saichō, who lacked confidence in his understanding of esoteric Buddhism, requested Kūkai to help develop Tendai's esoteric course of education. Although Kūkai at first welcomed Saichō's request, he soon reneged.[118] Kūkai wanted neither to "sell" his expertise nor risk becoming a subdivision of the Tendai school because he had his own plans for creating an esoteric school in Japan. Instead of helping Saichō, Kūkai lobbied the imperial court to establish the Shingon school as an independent Buddhist school based on esoteric practice.[119] Kūkai's request for the Shingon school was approved in 835.[120]

Consequently, to compensate for its shortcoming in esoteric practice, the Tendai school enthusiastically dispatched students to China in order to study under the esoteric masters there. These students were charged to master advanced esoteric practices and to transmit them to Japan. By so doing, the Tendai school could compete with the priests of Shingon, who devoted themselves exclusively to esoteric practice.[121]

118Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō*, 118-131.

119Ibid., 139-145.

120The Shingon school essentially followed the pattern of the institutional development of Tendai school. In 838, the administrators of Tōji in the capital requested the imperial court that the temple also wanted to become independent of the administrative control of the office of superintending clergy. The Shingon's petition to the court cited the precedent case of Enryakuji in 822. The petition was soon approved by the court in 839. Kikuchi Kyōko, "Zokubettō no seiritsu: tokuni 'kanjin' zokubettō ni tsuite," 409-411.

121Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendaishū no tanjō to hatten," 55-60.

As Tendai priests became more proficient in esoteric practices, intense institutional competition arose between the Tendai and Shingon schools.[122] Since the time of Kūkai, the Shingon school had claimed superiority in esoteric Buddhist practices. As the esoteric practices were popular among courtiers, both Tendai and Shingon struggled for powerful patrons in the imperial court in order to expand their institutional power in the Buddhist community in the area of the capital.[123] The Tendai and Shingon schools also contended for provincial private temples.[124] The competition over the appointment of the position of lecturer to provincial temples further intensified in 837 after the imperial court officially allowed Shingon priests to be appointed as lecturer position.[125]

The Tendai school finally became the equal of the Shingon school in esoteric practices by the time of the third abbot, Ennin (794-864). Ennin had traveled throughout China for nine years (838-847) and had extensively studied esoteric practices. He also introduced *soshitsujihō,* which had not been previously transmitted to Japan.[126] The Tendai school's esoteric division further advanced by transmitting both novel esoteric practices and the new

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122Ogami Kanchū, "Dengyō daishi nyūmetsugo no Tendaishū kyōdan," 221-224, and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū,* 30-36.

123Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki,* 71-72.

124The Shingon school, headed by Tōji as its head temple, began incorporating the private temples in the provinces as their extension and branch temples as the Tendai school did. Toyoda Takeshi, *Nihon shūkyō seidoshi no kenkyū* , 30-40.

125Takagi Yutaka, *Heianjidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū,* 36, and 39-40.

126*Soshitsujihō* is an esoteric ritual expounded in the *Soshitsuji-kyō* (*Sushiddikara Sūtra*) through which esoteric rituals of the two realms, *taizōkai* and *kongōkai,* are unified. See Kyōdo Jikō, "Ennin: nittō guhō no tabi," in *Tendaishū,* Shūhabetsu Nihon no Bukkyō, hito to oshie, vol. 1., 121-170. A text of *Soshitsuji-kyō* is available in Taisho vol. 18, no. 893.

scriptures introduced by the fifth abbot Enchin (814-891). Enchin had studied in China for five years from 853 to 858. On his return, Enchin established an esoteric Buddhist center at Onjōji, at the foot of Mount Hiei, where he furthered the systematic study of Tendai esotericism (*taimitsu*).[127]

Through the efforts of Ennin and Enchin, the esoteric division of the Japanese Tendai school advanced both methodologically and institutionally.[128] The Tendai school's passionate elaboration of esoteric practices reached its zenith toward the end of the ninth century. A Tendai scholar priest, Annen (died 889-898), even maintained that Tendai's esoteric practice was superior to all other teachings of Buddhism.[129] The efforts of distinguished scholar priests like Ennin, Enchin, and Annen ensured Tendai's competitive edge over the Shingon school.[130]

The success of the esoteric division of the Tendai school, however, changed the spiritual atmosphere on Mount Hiei. The Tendai priests focused

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127Kiuchi Gyōō, "Enchin: Tendai kyōdan no hōkōzuke," in *Tendaishū*, Shūhabetsu Nihon no Bukkyō, hito to oshie, vol. 1., 171-212.

128Both Ennin and Enchin recognized the methodological superiority of the esoteric practice to the exoteric meditative practices of the traditional Tendai school. Ennin maintained that the pre-eminence of esoteric practice was limited to the phenomenal aspect (*ridō jishō*). But Enchin claimed that the esoteric method superseded exoteric method both in the noumenal principle and phenomenal aspects (*riji kushō*). Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendaishū no tanjō to hatten," 60-61.

129Annen, however, maintained the supremacy of esoteric practices from the perspective of practitioners. He also maintained that from the perspective of the Buddha there exists only one perfect teaching (*engyō*), no matter how differently heard by the of practitioners. Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendaishū no tanjō to hatten," 60-62, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 125-131.

130Due to the efforts of these three distinguished esoteric masters, by the end of the ninth century, the Tendai priests were able to overcome their inferiority complex toward the Shingon school's esoteric practice. Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 107-116.

their training on learning advanced techniques of esoteric rituals, rather than on staying at the secluded monastery on Mount Hiei and practicing the four *samādhi* practices (*shishu-zanmai*) of Tendai.[131] Traditional Tendai study, centering around the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, declined and the Japanese Tendai school came to resemble a second Shingon school, thus obscuring the identity of the Tendai school.[132]

The rise of esotericism also brought problems of "secularization" and "factionalism" to the monastic community of Tendai. The advancement of the esoteric division rewarded Tendai priests with financial security and institutional expansion. But they often carried court politics into the monastery, since priests had to garner the favor of courtiers, in order to be invited to the lucrative private services held at private residences.[133] Furthermore, the transmission of esoteric practices was founded upon close master-disciple relationships, which often required precedence over the common good of the Tendai clerical community.[134] Factions became further subdivided, according to the lineage of esoteric transmission, and the integrity

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131The systematic method of meditation (*shikan*; Chinese, *chih kuan*) in four types of *samādhi* practices (*shishu-zanmai*) established by Chih-i (538-597), the founder of the Tendai school: constantly sitting meditation (*jōza-zanmai*), constantly walking meditation (*jōgyō-zanmai*), half-walking and half-sitting (*hangyohanza-zanmai*), and neither walking nor sitting (*higyōhiza-zanmai*). See Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendai-shū no tanjō to hatten," 36.

132The Tendai school began as an institution to teach esoteric and exoteric practices, equally. The mainstream of the Tendai school, however, especially after Enchin, emphasized esoteric studies. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 106-116.

133Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 92, and 106-116.

134Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 34-35.

of the Tendai clerical community further eroded.[135]

Saichō set up Enryakuji in order to train his students in an environment removed from secular society and the political influence of the Six Nara Schools. But Saichō's original ideal of the Tendai school as a comprehensive Mahāyāna school was gradually forgotten. Within seventy years of Saichō's death, Enryakuji had fallen into the control of private and political interests. It did not take long for corruption to arise in an sprawling institution which lacked integrity, self-identity, and discipline. Ryōgen was assigned to administer this dysfunctional and overgrown Enryakuji during the mid-Heian period.[136]

In summary, then, by Ryōgen's time eight Buddhist schools had been officially recognized in Japan, six introduced prior to the Heian period (the Kusha, Jōjitsu, Ritsu, Hossō, Sanron, and Kegon) and two during the early Heian period (Tendai and Shingon). The pre-Heian Buddhist schools were, fundamentally, established as public institutions. The state accommodated them within the state temples which had already been founded under the authority of the imperial court, and regulated the development of Buddhist schools under the imperial rescript system.

The flourishing of Buddhism under state control was in part due to the political turbulence of the early Heian period. The imperial court repeatedly

135Factionalism developed between the esoteric lineages of Ennin and Enchin. The institutional expansion in conjunction with the rise of factionalism resulted in the fragmentation of the monastic community over the issue of appointment of clergy to the extension or branch temples entrusted to the Tendai school. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 34-35.

136Hirabayashi Moritoku, "Ryōgen to Eizan no chūkō," 16.

modified the imperial rescript system in order to maintain the power of the imperial court against the rise of the private politico-economic powers. The increasing deregulation of the imperial rescript system also altered the institutional structure of official Japanese Buddhism which gradually changed Buddhist institutions into semi-private enterprises. The social functions of Buddhist institutions diversifies so as to satisfy the demands of their patrons. Accordingly rich aristocratic families established private temples, prayer-offering-temples, that were sanctioned by imperial authority. Tendai and Shingon, the two Buddhist schools introduced during the early Heian period, moved their institutional foundations to the private sector. During the Heian period, these two schools expanded through the acquisition of privately funded temples and gradually outgrew state control.

The Japanese Tendai school took advantage of the privatization of Japanese Buddhist institutions. The imperial court granted the Tendai school an ordination system and a priestly registration system independent of the office of superintending clergy under the imperial rescript system. This special arrangement gave the Tendai school greater freedom in institutional administration and thus placed it in an advantageous position during this period of transformation. The Tendai school proceeded to incorporate private temples into its fold, thus becoming one of the largest Buddhist institutions in Japan.

Although the school expanded rapidly, it experienced its share of difficulties. Although the Japanese Tendai school became successful during the Heian period, it was because of the esoteric Buddhist rituals that Saichō introduced along with traditional Tendai doctrine and practices in order to

broaden its appeal. The Heian courtiers were, however, immediately attracted to these rituals rather than to Tendai doctrine. The majority of Tendai priests before Ryōgen focused on mastering the esoteric ritual practices and so neglected the study of traditional Tendai doctrine. Institutional integrity was further weakened by the rise of factionalism in which members of various lineages of esoteric transmission of the Dharma vied for power.

PART TWO

Life of Jie Daishi Ryōgen

CHAPTER II

Early Life and Formative Period (912-962)

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, "Becoming a Tendai Priest (912-949)," I will examine Ryōgen's childhood and early training at Enryakuji, which prepared him to advance his career to the highest administrative position of the Tendai school later in his life. First I will discuss his early life as found in the major biographical sources and discuss historiographical issues concerning the background of Ryōgen's family and childhood. Second I will examine Ryōgen's training as a novice at Enryakuji before his priestly ordination. Third I will discuss the development of Ryōgen's early career as a young Tendai scholar skilled in doctrinal debate. In this section, I will pay special attention to how Ryōgen, despite his weak background, overcame adverse conditions and positioned himself to advance his career.

In the second section, "Administrating Yokawa (949-963)," I will examine Ryōgen's activities between 949 and 963. During these fourteen years, Ryōgen rebuilt Yokawa which would become the platform for his institutional reform of Enryakuji. First, I will discuss why Ryōgen selected

Yokawa by examining the origin and history of Yokawa before Ryōgen. Second, I will examine Ryōgen's patronage by the Fujiwara Regent's family, which eventually turned Yokawa into the prayer-offering-temple for the family. Third I will review how Ryōgen and Fujiwara Regent's family restored and established Yokawa as the Tendai study center of Ennin's lineage.

1. Becoming a Tendai Priest (912-949)

Compared with his outstanding career as a scholar and administrator on Mount Hiei, Ryōgen's early life was unremarkable and his circumstances humble. One of the most telling indications about the conditions of Ryōgen's early life is the silence of historical accounts surrounding Ryōgen's family background. Ryōgen's disciples with the editorial help of court literatus, Fujiwara Tadanobu (967-1035), compiled the first official biography of Ryōgen, *Jie daisōjō den* (henceforth *SJD*). The text was published in 1031, 46 years after Ryōgen's death.[1] A supplement to this official biography, *Jie daisōjō shūi den* (henceforth *SID*) was issued in 1032 by Bonshō (962-1032), one of Ryōgen's direct disciples.[2] There is yet another biography of Ryōgen, *Jie daishi den* (henceforth *DSD*), but it was composed in 1396, almost four hundred years

[1]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 5-6.

[2]Although details of Bonshō's life are not clear, he was a resident priest at Yokawa and had an *ajari* title. He was also a member of Genshin's *nijūgozanmaie*. Hirabayashi Moritoku "Shinshutu *Jie daishi den shiryō* dasoku," 98-71, and Hirabayashi Moritoku *Ryōgen*, 5-6.

after Ryōgen died.[3] The first two biographical sources, *Jie daisōjō den* (*SJD*) and *Jie daisōjō shūiden* (*SID*) were written within fifty years after Ryōgen's death. These authors of Ryōgen's biographies must have known something about his origins. Although neither one provides sufficient information to identify his parents or their social status.

Although they are very incomplete, these biographical sources do offer some information of Ryōgen's family background. According to the *Jie daisōjō den* and *Jie daishi den,* Ryōgen's father belonged to the Kozu clan and his mother to the Mononobe clan. (*SJD* 826a, *DSD* 736a) The *Tendai zasuki* simply says that Ryōgen belonged to the Kozu clan and does not mention his parents. (*TZK* 41) Both the Kozu and Mononobe clans had distinguished historical origins. The Kozu clan was a branch of the Aya clan, whose immigrant ancestors arrived from the continent and settled in Yamato province, present day Nara prefecture. A branch of the Aya clan also settled in Kozu-gō in Takashima-gun, located in the western part of Ōmi province. The Mononobe clan was one of the largest native family clans in Japan.[4] Ryōgen's parents, however, seem to have belonged to insignificant sub-branches of

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[3]This biography was composed by Ranha Keishi (ca. 14th century), one of the major Buddhist literati during the Muromachi period (1334-1560). There is also another biography titled, *Ryōdaishi den,* which featured biographies of Ryōgen and Tenkai (1536-1643), compiled by Inkai published in 1868. These biographies were chiefly based on *Jie daisōjō den* and were not historiographically significant sources. There is also a brief mention of Ryōgen's background in the records kept by the Tendai school, such as *Tendai zasuki* (henceforece *TZK*) and *Shakke kanhanki.* These records were completed most likely during the Kamakura period or later, and relied on the first two biographical sources. Ryōgen's biography is also cited in *Fusōryakki, Nihonki-ryaku, Nihonkōsōden-yōmonshō, Eigakuyōki,* or *Asabashō.* For the historiographical evaluation of these texts, see Hirabayashi Moritoku "Shinshutsu *Jie daishi den shiryō* dasoku," 98-71, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 5-6. Kushida Ryōkō, "Jiedaishi den no shinshiryō ni tsuite," 507-509.

[4]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 2-3.

these clans. The biographers recorded neither the names of Ryōgen's parents nor his family's occupation. No cross references regarding his parents have been discovered in any historical records available at this time.

Although historical records do not provide further accounts of Ryōgen's family origins, Bonshō, in the *Jie daisōjō shūiden,* remembers that Ryōgen was very devoted to his mother. Bonshō records that Ryōgen sponsored grand celebrations for his mother's sixtieth (945)[5], seventieth (955)[6], and eightieth birthdays (965).[7] Ryōgen's mother lived until 966, (*SID* 84a, *TZK* 42) the same year that Ryōgen became the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji. Bonshō also records that Ryōgen officiated at the thirteenth-year memorial service for his mother at her home town temple; Daikichisanji (or Daikichiji), in Azai-gun in 979.[8] It is highly possible that Bonshō attended this service. From these accounts it seems likely that at least some of the authors and informants of the *Jie daisōjō den* and *Jie daisōjō shūiden* may have been acquainted with Ryōgen's mother, even though they were his very last disciples. But, none mentions the identity of his mother.

The biographies are also almost completely silent about Ryōgen's

[5]Ryōgen celebrated his mother's sixtieth birthday at Sufukuji. Ryōgen made copies of six volumes of *Mahāyāna sūtra* and officiated at a doctrinal debate for three days. (*SID* 83b)

[6]Ryōgen built a residence for his mother in Nōka, at the foot of Mount Hiei for his mother's seventieth birthday. (*SID* 83b)

[7]Ryōgen made copies of *sūtras*, held lecture meetings with eighty invited priests and had music played for three days to celebrate his mother's eightieth birthday. Ryōgen also built several houses for her and launched a decorated boat on Lake Biwa. (*SID* 84a)

[8]Ryōgen practiced one hundred days *goma* ritual in accordance with his late mother's wish. Music was played on the last day to commemorate the service. Ryōgen visited his parent's grave immediately after the service, which very favorably impressed people. (*SID* 86b) For the location of Daikichiji, see a map, "Northern Ōmi Province," in Appendices.

father. Interestingly, a story about Ryōgen's background, as a son of Emperor Uda (867-931, r. 887-897), developed among worshippers of Ryōgen.[9] A similar story is also preserved in the folklore of Azai-gun.[10] Modern historical studies, however, dismiss these stories as legendary fabrications that compensate for this paternal vacancy. The earliest known record of this story was compiled during the Kamakura period, but sources which mention it are historiographically unreliable.[11] Modern scholars conclude that the lack of information concerning Ryōgen's family background indicates his family's humble social status.[12] The disciples of Ryōgen perhaps chose not to reveal Ryōgen's family background because his social status was too lowly to be associated with one of the most successful Tendai abbots.[13]

As for Ryōgen's birthplace, all biographical sources agree that Ryōgen was born in Azai-gun of Ōmi province, but the exact village is uncertain. According to the *Tendai zasuki*, Ryōgen was born in Okamoto-gō. (*TZK* 42) The *Shakke kanhanki* says it was in Ōi-gō. *Jie daisōjō shūiden* mentions a place near the Tagawa river which runs through Okamoto-gō as his

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9Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 214-221; Tanizaki Junichirō, "Chino monogatari, Ganzan daishi no haha," in *Tanizaki Junichirō zenshū*, vol. 16, (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1968), 402-418; and Yamada Etai, *Ganzandaishi* (Tokyo: Daiichi shobō, 1959), 11-12.

10According to the story, Ryōgen's mother, called Tsukikohime, was an attendant to Emperor Uda. After she conceived the emperor's child, she went into hiding under protection of the Kozu family in Azai-gun. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 216 and 219.

11Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 219.

12Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 3-7; Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," 216; and Kushida Ryōkō, "Jiedaishi den no shinshiryō ni tsuite," 509.

13In another legend, the Aiba family claimed that Ryōgen's father was its ancestor. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 219 and 214-215.

playground. (*SID* 82)[14] Currently in the Okamoto-gō area there is a temple, Gyokusenji,[15] which claims to be built at Ryōgen's birthplace in a village called Mikawa. Okamoto-gō and Ōi-gō are located next to each other. Mikawa village and the Tagawa River are not far from the area. Based on this geographic information, we can say that Ryōgen was born probably in the vicinity of Azai-gun, Torahime-chō.[16]

Stories of Ryōgen's birth and childhood in his biographies are, however, legendary rather than historical. According to *Jie daishi den,* Ryōgen's mother, who was unable to conceive a son, visited a local temple named Daikichiji and prayed to the bodhisattva Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) enshrined there.[17] On her way home she saw a slim pack horse carrying a child going toward the temple and thought it a good omen.[18] That night, in her dream, she received an oracle from Kannon. In the dream, she was sitting in the middle of the ocean and facing up to heaven. Suddenly a shining object descended from the sky and entered her bosom. Shortly thereafter, she conceived a baby. (*DSD* 736a-b) Ryōgen was born on the third day of the ninth

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[14]Kushida considered a village called Tagawa his birthplace. See Kushida Ryōkō, "Jiedaishi den no shinshiryō ni tsuite," 509.

[15]For the loctation of Gyokusenji, see also a map, "Northern Ōmi Province," in Appendices.

[16]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 1-5. See also a map, "Northern Ōmi Province," in Appendices.

[17]The temple was established by a famous Tendai scholar, Annen, and by showing miraculous power the statue of Kannon was very popular. The statue of Kannon was believed to have been retrieved by Annen when it emerged miraculously from Lake Biwa. (*DSD* 736a) Yamada Etai, *Ganzan daishi,* 11.

[18]The *Jie daisōjō den,* which was compiled earlier, does not mention her visit to the Daikichiji and good omen. In the text she was only described as devoting herself to Buddhism in order to have a child. (*SJD* 826a)

month of 912. It was exactly noon, the hour of the horse in the zodiac reckoning system. Auspicious signs appeared at the time of the delivery. (*SJD* 826a, *DSD* 736b) According to the *Jie daishi den,* the child was named Kannon-maru, because he was conceived by virtue of the oracle of Kannon.[19] (*DSD* 736b)

Ryōgen seems to have been a spiritually and intellectually gifted child. According to *Jie daishi den,* in 920, a retired government officer named Kumo Sadayuki was invited to a party held at a village festival.[20] While passing a rice field in which the young Ryōgen was playing, the old man perceived a canopy shaped like a lotus flower over the head of the child. Astonished by the auspicious sign, Kumo Sadayuki respectfully carried the boy on horseback back to his house and told Ryōgen's father that he was a gifted child. But he was afraid the child's talent would be wasted without proper guidance and recommended that he be educated at Enryakuji on Mount Hiei so that his success would be guaranteed. Ryōgen was nine years old.[21] (*DSD* 826a)

A story in the *Jie daisōjō shūiden* recalls a slightly different version of the legend of the auspicious sign. A noble man on a horse discovered auspicious signs over the child (Kannon-maru), who was watching a man fishing in the river running through Tagawa village at the south side of a

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[19]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 6-7.

[20]*Jie daishi den* records that he was a former provincial secretary (*shiba* [*jō*]) for Esshū, present day Niigata prefecture. (*DSD* 826a)

[21]*Jie daishi den* also recorded a similar story of auspicious sign witnessed by Kumo Sadayuki. (*DSD* 736) See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 7.

bridge called Ōhashi.[22] The noble man dismounted and asked the fisherman whether the child were his son and where he lived. The fisherman told him that the child was not his son, but he knew where he lived. Then the noble man bowed to the child and asked the fisherman to tell the parents to treat the boy with due respect because he had an auspicious sign over him.[23] (*SID* 82a-b)

Although these stories are folkloric rather than historic, they clearly reveal the circumstances of Ryōgen's childhood. He was a poor but gifted child in a small rural village whose talent would be wasted unless he became a Buddhist priest. During his time, Buddhist temples often provided elementary education for children in exchange for their labor.[24] But his family, especially his father, was not willing to send their only son to Mount Hiei. (*DSD* 736b) It was a few more years before the noble man's prophetic suggestion was heeded and Ryōgen took his first step to become a Tendai priest.

Although the exact year and reason are not known, while Ryōgen was still a child he moved with his mother from Azai-gun to Shiga-gun. Shiga-gun is located in the south-western part of Ōmi province at the foot of Mount Hiei. Ryōgen's extraordinary gifts were recognized by a Tendai priest, Kakue

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22Tagawa village was in the east of Azai-gun. See a map, "Northern Ōmi Province," in Appendices.

23Bonshō, the author of the biography, did not elaborate the details of this story further, such as the name of the noble man, or what was the auspicious sign over the child. The year of this incident is also not recorded. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 7-8.

24Ogata Yūkō, "Eizan no kyōiku: Shakai kyōiku tenkai no genryū," in *Dengyōgaishi kenkyū*, 185-209.

(871-954), when Ryōgen visited the priest's residence at Bonshakuji with his mother.[25] (*SJD* 826a, *DSD* 736b) Bonshakuji, one of the largest state temples in Ōmi province, was located in Shiga-gun.[26] Kakue was an eminent master of Tendai esotericism and holder of the title of *ajari.* With a recommendation from Kakue, Ryōgen was admitted to Enryakuji on Mount Hiei as a student-servant (*dōji*)[27] in 923. (*SJD* 826a, *DSD* 736b) Ryōgen was twelve.

Ōmi province, especially the southern and northern regions, was a Tendai stronghold. Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai school, was a native of Shiga-gun. The seventeenth abbot of Enryakuji, Kikyō (888-966), was a native of Azai-gun.[28] The Tendai school was also well accepted in the local culture.[29] His mother's move from Azai-gun to Shiga-gun and Ryōgen's encounter with Kakue were probably not as coincidental as his biographies would have us believe. But the reason for his mother's move to Shiga-gun is

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[25]Ryōgen's relationship with Kakue seemed to continue after he became a Tendai priest. Ryōgen received esoteric initiations from Kakue in 938. Kakue perhaps introduced him to Fujiwara Tadahira (880-949) in 938. Kakue also transferred his title of *ajari* to Ryōgen when he retired the position in 951. See "Chronology of Ryōgen" in Appendices.

[26]Bonshakuji was founded by the order of Emperor Kammu in 786. Saichō also spent his early days in this temple. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 8.

[27]A student-servant (*dōji*) refers to a young lay servant who assisted a master in his daily activities. The master priest, in turn, became a tutor of his apprentice. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," 217, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 12-13.

[28]Kikyō entered Mount Hiei in 902, twenty one years ahead of Ryōgen. Ryōgen's parents might have known about him. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 10.

[29]For example, since the early Heian period Tendai priests developed and maintained on Chikubushima island which lies on the northern part of Lake Biwa. The island was one of the most venerated sacred sites of Ōmi province. Ennin, the third abbot of Enryakuji, repaired the shrine and donated a statue of Benzaiten (Sarasvatī). Many other Tendai priests supported the temples and shrines on Chikubushima island by making donations and helping to repair the sacred sites on the island. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 9-10, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," 216-217.

not clear. The *Jie daishi den* says that Ryōgen's mother moved because she was a pious Buddhist and willing to dedicate her only son to the Dharma, perhaps even against the will of the family. (*DSD* 736b) But because she moved without her husband, modern historians suspect that Ryōgen's mother had become a single parent by their separation or by his death.[30]

Thus her reason for sending her son to the temple was probably one of expediency rather than of devotion: as a single parent, she had to entrust her son to the monastery because she could not support him. Buddhist temples at that time also functioned as educational institutions for talented youths. By becoming student-servants, even children of humble birth without sufficient financial resources could receive a good education in exchange for serving their master priests. Ryōgen's mother perhaps hoped that her son's education at Enryakuji would further his spiritual growth. But she no doubt recognized that regardless of whether or not he became a priest, Ryōgen would learn the basic skills necessary for making a living and would be able to support her as she grew older.[31] For Ryōgen's mother Enryakuji on Mount Hiei was the most suitable choice for the education of her son.

In 923 Ryōgen was admitted to Hōdōin of Saitō at Enryakuji on Mount Hiei. He was twelve years old. According to Ryōgen's biographies, his direct

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[30]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 8.

[31]Everyone who was admitted into Enryakuji as a student-servant did not automatically became a priest. Only distinguished students, who passed the qualifying examination, were able to recieve ordination. For the others, however, training as a student-servant, provided elementary through more advanced levels of literacy skills and was useful for secular purposes. Some even became a student-servant just to be educated, not for spiritual cultivation. Ogata Yūkō, "Eizan no kyōiku: Shakai kyōiku tenkai no genryū," 185-209.

supervisor was Risen (died 928), a priest of the residential quarters administrated by the priest Nittō (ca. 9-10th centuries) in Hōdōin. (*SJD* 836a, *DSD* 736b) Ryōgen's early career did not seem promising for several reasons. First Ryōgen was not admitted into Tōtō, the largest section of Enryakuji which included its headquarters. At that time Enryakuji comprised two independent sections, Tōtō and Saitō, of which Saitō was only about half the size of Tōtō. Admittance into Saitō might have reflected Ryōgen's financial situation and humble family background.[32] Second, neither Risen nor Nittō, Ryōgen's masters, were prominent figures. Their names are only known today through Ryōgen's biographies.[33] There is no historical record as to his early training under the two priests, but modern historians believe that he studied the Tendai exoteric doctrine of Ennin's lineage.[34] Because he entered Mount Hiei when Saitō was under the supervision of Ninshō (ca. 9-10th centuries), a priest of Ennin's lineage,[35] Ryōgen's supervisors also certainly belonged to Ennin's lineage. Extrapolating from Ryōgen's early career as a skilled debater on the topic of exoteric doctrine, Risen was most likely a master of the Tendai exoteric doctrine.[36]

As future careers of Tendai priests were for the most part already

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32Hardships Ryōgen experienced in his early stage of his career as a Tendai priest also proved that his family was neither eminent nor affluent enough to support him on Mount Hiei. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 2-3, and 12.

33Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 13.

34See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," 219; and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 13-14.

35Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 12.

36Ibid., 12-14.

determined on entrance to Enryakuji, Ryōgen's career at this point would have seemed very limited. Moreover Ryōgen's early training at Enryakuji was, at best, second-rate. The academic curriculum at Enryakuji consisted of two major programs: the esoteric practice based on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*shanagō*), and the exoteric practice based on the *Makashikan* (*shikangō*). When Ryōgen began his training at Enryakuji, esoteric studies were very popular. Esoteric studies were dominated by priests of Enchin's lineage at Tōtō which dominated the administration of Enryakuji, the largest division of Enryakuji.[37] Enchin's lineage led the academy with its advanced faculties of Tendai esotericism at Onjōji, which housed the hall for esoteric initiations (*kanjōdō*).[38] Thus it seems that Ryōgen, who studied the exoteric studies of Ennin's lineage at Saitō, did not have a promising future as a Tendai priest, a consequence of his mother's lack of financial resources to enroll him in the more popular curriculum.

As a lay student-servant, Ryōgen, received his basic training for Tendai priesthood during five years of supervision by Risen. In order to became a member of the clerical community, a student-servant had to pass qualifying examinations before proceeding to candidacy for the priesthood. After passing the examination, he was allowed to take tonsure and join the clerical community as a novice (*shami*). According to his biography, Ryōgen, was a very bright and diligent student (*SJD* 826a, *DSD* 736b) and in 928, after five years of training with his master Risen, was ready for priestly ordination. He

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[37]Ibid., 13-14.

[38]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11.

was seventeen years old. Ryōgen's ordination, however, was temporarily delayed because of his master Risen's death.[39] (*SJD* 826a, *DSD* 736)

According to the *Jie daisōjō den,* however, Ryōgen had already received the initial priestly ordination and was a novice when Risen died. This initial ordination is called *tokudo*. The full ordination for becoming an official priest is conferred at the precepts confirmation ceremony (*jukai*) held at a state accredited ordination platform (*kaidan*). Tendai priests generally performed this ceremony at Kaidan'in at Enryakuji on Mount Hiei. Ryōgen was, however, unable to take the precepts confirmation ceremony since his master who must act as the instructor of the ceremony (*kyōjushi*), one of three masters presiding at the confirmation ceremony, had died.[40] (*SJD* 826a) Matters were further complicated because, during the early tenth century, the annual number of ordinands was still officially controlled by the state.[41] A master-priest not only was required if the ordination of a candidate to priesthood were to be accepted by the state, but also was himself limited in the number of his disciples who could receive ordination. Unfortunately, Risen's supervisor, Nittō did not have an extra ordination slot for Ryōgen, even though he recognized Ryōgen's gifts. Nittō asked one of his patrons, Funaki Yoshimi (ca. 9-10th centuries), a county supervisor (*gunryō*) of Asake-gun in Ise province (present day Mie prefecture), to intercede with Fujiwara Sadakata

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39Neil McMullin, "The Lotus Sutra and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 123-124.

40Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 14, and Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura shinbukkyō no seiritsu,* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1988), 142.

41Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 14, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," 219.

(873-932), then Great Minister of the Right (*udaijin*) in the imperial court, to find a priest who would act as a substitute for Risen. Luckily, Sadakata was able to find Onkun (858-948),[42] a Hossō scholar of Yakushiji, to sponsor the ordination for Ryōgen. (*SJD* 826a-b, *DSD* 736-737a)

According to the biographies, however, Ryōgen initially turned down this offer from Sadakata. He maintained passionately that he would receive ordination only as a disciple of Risen, because it would be immoral and selfish to forget Risen's kindness and to only seek after his own advancement. Ryōgen insisted that he would receive the ordination through Onkun only if he were officially allowed to remain a disciple of Risen. Otherwise, he did not care if his career were terminated. His appeal was accepted and, in the fourth month of 928, Ryōgen received the precepts confirmation ceremony from the thirteenth Tendai abbot, Son'i[43] (865-940) as a disciple of Risen. (*SJD* 826a-b, *DSD* 736-737a) Before the ceremony, he was given the new priestly name Ryōgen. One character, *ryō* (良, also read as *yoshi*), of Ryōgen's name was taken from the name of Funaki Yoshimi (船木良見). (*SJD* 826b)

Modern historians, however, discount the historicity of some parts of Ryōgen's appeal to Fujiwara Sadakata. Although Ryōgen was anxious about changing his master, it is very unlikely that the process of ordination were

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42According to the *Sōgōbunin*, Onkun became a state appointed lecturer (*kōshi*) in 925. He became a superintendent of the lower rank (*gonrisshi*) in 933 after he completed the lectureship of the three great-lecture-meetings (*san'e ikō*). He became a superintendent (*risshi*) in 935, and a minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*). He died in 948 at the age of 90. (*SBN* 31). See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 27.

43Son'i became the abbot of Enryakuji in 926 at the age of 63. He belonged to the lineage of Jikakudaishi (Ennin). He became a great bishop (*daisōzu*) in 938. He died in 940 at the age of 80. He was granted the title of archbishop (*sōjō*) posthumously. (*SBN* 223) Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 15-16.

changed simply by Ryōgen's appeal. Hirabayashi Moritoku believes that Ryōgen most likely accepted the offer from Onkun and received ordination as his disciple. According to *Sōgōbunin* (henceforth *SBN*), records of the appointees of the office of superintending clergy, Ryōgen received both the initial ordination and the precepts confirmation ceremony (*doen-jukai*) from Onkun and then later returned to Mount Hiei to study at Enryakuji. (*SBN* 309) If the record in the *Sōgōbunin* is correct, Ryōgen was first ordained as a disciple of Onkun, who was a Hossō scholar, in which case he accepted the traditional monastic precepts at Tōdaiji in Nara. Although Ryōgen's relation with Onkun was perfunctory, he was, technically speaking, at this point formally a Hossō priest. Ryōgen then transferred his priestly registration to Tendai upon his return to Mount Hiei. There, he received the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts to become a Tendai priest from the abbot Son'i.[44]

Although there is no record of how long he had stayed in Nara, Ryōgen needed, in order to receive full ordination at Tōdaiji, at least minimum literacy and knowledge of the Six Nara Schools, especially of the Hossō school, which was Onkun's affiliation. Although the historical records are unclear, Ryōgen's skill in doctrinal debate might have begun during his preparation for ordination. The Hossō scholars' debating skills, especially their studies of Buddhist logic (*inmyō*), were then considered to be the most advanced in the Buddhist academy.[45] Ryōgen's status within the Tendai

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[44]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 15-16.

[45]Ryōgen partook formal academic exchange with the Six Nara Schools after he became a Tendai priest. There is a record that he belonged to a lineage of Tōdaiji branch of the studies of Buddhist logic. Nemu Kazuchika, "Jie daishi no inmyō gaku to sono keifu," in *Ganzan Jie daishi no kenkyū,* 229-244.

school was, however, at its nadir. While the biography says that he succeeded to Risen's position (*SJD* 826b), legally, however, he was a transferred priest from Nara, who did not have any direct connection with senior priests on Mount Hiei.

After his ordination Ryōgen succeeded his master Risen and continued to study at Saitō. Although Ryōgen did not have a strong supporter within the Tendai school, he was a diligent and ambitious student who excelled in debate. According to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden,* in 929 Ryōgen was chosen to participate in a doctrinal debate among Tendai priests. At the debate, he easily refuted Jōe (907-984), a young disciple of Kiren (883-958) of Tōtō.[46] Kiren was impressed by Ryōgen's performance and sent Jōe to study with him. (*SID* 82b)[47] Despite Ryōgen's troubled start, within two years of his ordination, he became renowned as a skillful doctrinal debater.

In 931 Ryōgen gained further recognition. According to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden,* in this year Kizō (871-937), the head priest of Hōdōin, entrusted the brothers Shōku (909-998) and Senga (914-998) to Ryōgen for training. It is noteworthy that Ryōgen was a few years younger than Shōku, his disciple.[48]

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[46]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 16. Hirabayashi, however, misidentifies Kiren with Kikyō (887-966), the seventeenth abbot of Enryakuji. Kiren was appointed *gonrisshi* in 956 at the age of 73. He died in 958 at the age of 75. (*SBN* 74)

[47]Jōe was ordained in 929. He seems to have become a faithful disciple of Ryōgen. He was, in return, generously promoted by Ryōgen. He became an *ajari* of Enryakuji in 966 on the recommendation of abbot Ryōgen. He succeeded Ryōgen's position as one of the ten guardian priests of the emperor (*naigubu jūzenji*) in 968. He became a superintendent of the minor rank (*gonrisshi*) in 981. He died in 948 at the age of seventy seven. (*SBN* 159)

[48]According to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden*, both were student-servants of Un'nichi (ca. 9-10th centuries), a resident priest at Saitō. Un'nichi, however, failed to make arrangements for them to proceed to priestly ordination, since he could not obtain slots for the yearly ordinands.

(*SID* 82b, *SBN* 193-194) Both brothers later became prominent disciples of Ryōgen: Senga went on to become a great archbishop of the lower rank (*gon daisōjō*) at the office of superintending clergy and the twenty-second abbot of Enryakuji;[49] Shōku became a great bishop (*daisōzu*).[50]

Ryōgen's name also became known generally among Buddhists of the area. The biographies relate that Ryōgen was invited to be a respondent (*monja*) in a doctrinal debate held during the eight lectures on the *Lotus sūtra* for lay followers (*kechien hakkō*) at Kamijingūji. At the debate, Ryōgen refuted Senkan (918-983) on issues in Buddhist logic.[51] (*SID* 83b-83a)

The most significant point of his career as a debater came in 937, when Ryōgen visited Nara as an attendant of Kizō, who was appointed lecturer (*kōshi*) of the annual Yuimae (assembly of the *Yuima-gyō*).[52] During the

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Kizō, then head administrator at Saitō, resolved the situation by giving them his own slots of the yearly ordinands and entrusting their training to Ryōgen. (*SID* 82)

49Senga was ordained in 931. He became the abbot of Enryakuji in 992. He died in 998 at the age of 85. (*SBN* 205-206) Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 16-17.

50Shōku was ordained 933. He became a great bishop (*daisōzu*) 994, and died in 998 at the age of 90. (*SBN* 193-194) Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 16-17.

51The year this debate took place is not known. Senkan later became known as a Tendai scholar and a popular prayer-offering priest (*kitōsō*) in the court. Later, however, Senkan was influenced by the Pure Land teaching of Kūya (or Kōya, 903-972) and retreated to Mount Minō abandoning his fame to enter the life of *nembutsu* practice. When Ryōgen invited him to represent the Tendai school at the doctrinal debate (Ōwa debate) at the imperial court in 963, Senkan declined the invitation. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 18, and Yusen Kashiwahara and Koyu Sonoda eds., *Shapers of Japanese Buddhism* (Tokyo: Kosei Publishing, 1994), 53.

52An annual lecture meeting on the *Yuima-gyō*, or *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, sponsored by Kōfukuji. It was one of the three great-lecture-meetings (*sandai'e*) sponsored annually by the imperial court. The lecturers of Yuimae were successively appointed to the other two great-lecture-meetings, Saishōe and Gosai'e. The lecturer who successfully completed these three lecture-meetings was called *ikō* (certified lecturer) and appointed member of the office of superintending clergy. *Jie daisōjō shūiden* and the *Jie daishi den* recorded that this occurred in 935. (*SID* 83a, *DSD* 737a) According to *Yuimae kōji kengaku ryūgi shidai*, however, Kizō was the lecturer in 937. The *Jie daisōjō den* also tells that it was in 937. (*SJD* 826b) Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 18-19.

lecture-meeting Ryōgen was invited to participate in a private doctrinal debate with students of the Six Nara Schools. This private debate was held at the request of Fujiwara Arihira (892-970), who was the representative of the emperor (*chokushi*). At the debate Ryōgen demonstrated his skill by refuting Hossō scholar, Gishō (920-969) of Gangōji.[53] (*SJD* 826b-827a, *SID* 83a, *DSD* 737a-b) Arihira was so impressed by Ryōgen's excellent performance that he told Fujiwara Tadahira (880-949),[54] the Regent for the emperor, about this young Tendai scholar. (*SJD* 826b-827a, *DSD* 737a-b) Later, Fujiwara Tadahira, the leader (*chōja*) of the Fujiwara family and the most powerful political figure in the imperial court, became one of Ryōgen's generous sponsors.[55]

Ryōgen's skills in doctrinal debate also helped him to become acquainted with court nobles. As a Tendai priest, however, skill in doctrinal debate was not enough to gain patronage in the imperial court. Ryōgen also had to learn esoteric rituals to become a prayer-offering priest (*kitōsō*) for his patron. During the era of Tengyō (938-947), Ryōgen studied Tendai esotericism with Kakue, the same priest who had recommended him as a Tendai priest. Under Kakue's tutelage, Ryōgen learned the three great esoteric practices (*sanbu-daihō*) of the Japanese Tendai school and mastered the

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[53]According to the *Jie daisōjō den* and *Jie daishi den*, some malcontent priests of Nara came to disrupt the debate, but they were easily dispersed by Ryōgen's eloquent speech. This incident was also mentioned in the *Genkōshakusho*, and the *Honchōkōsōden*. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 18-23.

[54]Tadahira was the most powerful political figure in the imperial court. He was serving as a *sesshō* from 930-941 for Emperor Suzaku (923-952, r. 930-946) who was Tadahira's sister's son. He became a *kampaku* in 941 which office he held untii his death in 949. See Neil McMullin, "The Lotus Sutra and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 120.

[55]Tadahira was the Regent of Emperor Suzaku. He was *sesshō* between 930 and 941 and *kampaku* between 941 and 949. Tadahira was appointed to the Prime Minister (*dajōdaijin*) of the imperial court in 936.

esoteric ritual of offering fire to various deities (*shoson yuga goma hihō*).[56] (*SID* 83a)

Although the details of Ryōgen's activities as a student of Kakue are not clear, Ryōgen's training in esoteric practices allowed him to gain the patronage of court nobles as their prayer-offering priest during the early Tengyō era. *Teishinkōki*, the diary of the Fujiwara Regent Tadahira, recorded that Kakue frequented the imperial palace with his disciples to perform esoteric practices at the imperial court (*mishiho*) in 938.[57] Ryōgen was probably among Kakue's attendants.[58] Kakue also introduced Ryōgen, perhaps during the early Tengyō era, to the regent Fujiwara Tadahira, the most powerful politician in the imperial court. Ryōgen's biographies noted that Ryōgen was invited to attend a religious service at Tadahira's residence that was officiated by Kakue. After the completion of the service, Tadahira, who remembered Ryōgen from his debate with Gishō in 937, asked Ryōgen to become his spiritual guide.[59] (*SJD* 826b-827a, *DSD* 737b)

Ryōgen's career seems to have been brightened considerably toward the end of the Tengyō era. In 945 Ryōgen celebrated his mother's sixtieth birthday at Sufukuji at the southern foot of Mount Hiei. Ryōgen made copies of six volumes of Mahāyāna *sūtras* and held various religious services for three days. He also officiated at six sessions of doctrinal debates, inviting

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[56]See also Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 24.

[57]Kakue's visits were recorded in Tadahira's diary, *Teishinkōki*. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 24-25.

[58]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 24-25.

[59]Ibid., 24-25.

twelve scholars, including Gishō.[60] (*SID* 83b) In 948 the construction of Dainichiin at Saitō was completed.[61] And Ryōgen was appointed the head officer of the assembly (*dōtatsu*) at the opening ceremony. At that time, Ryōgen's priestly rank was great dharma-master (*daihossi*), the highest rank for an ordinary priest (*bonsō*).[62]

2. Administrating Yokawa (949-963)

A great turning point in Ryōgen's priestly career came in 949, when his primary patron, the regent Fujiwara Tadahira died at the age of seventy. While the memorial services for Tadahira were in progress, Ryōgen suddenly decided to withdraw to Yokawa.[63] Ryōgen's request to leave for the retreat during the period memorial services for his patron was untimely and his choice of Yokawa seemed unlikely. Yokawa, the most remote place on Mount

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[60]Ibid., 26-27.

[61]Ibid., 28-29.

[62]*Eigakuyōki*, 214. See also Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 28-29.

[63]Neil McMullin believes Ryōgen moved into Yokawa before 946, the year in which he thinks Fujiwara Morosuke (908-960), a son of Tadahira, had begun making contributions to the construction of Hokkezanmaidō. McMullin, however, did not provide sources to support this statement. During the Tengyō era (938-947), Ryōgen was, most likely, under the supervision of Kakue learning esoteric rituals. (*SID* 83b) Therefore, it is neither likely that Ryōgen had already moved into Yokawa nor that Morosuke had begun his contribution to Yokawa by 946. McMullin might have been misled by a description in the *Jie daishi den* which mistakenly recorded that the opening ceremony of Hokkezanmaidō. It was in fact held in 946. (*DSD* 737b) See Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 125.

Hiei, was a very small priory and attended by only a few resident priests.[64] (*SJD* 827b, *SID* 83b) Yokawa was the least popular section on Mount Hiei and was practically abandoned. According to the *Jie daisōjō den*, Ryōgen requested the Tadayori's family that he wanted to be relased from his duty because of a bad omen he discovered.[65] (*SJD* 827a)

Fujiwara Saneyori (900-970), the eldest son of Tadahira, strongly opposed Ryōgen's retreat and urged him to remain until the memorial services were completed. But Fujiwara Morosuke (908-960),[66] the younger son of Tadahira, persuaded his brother to allow Ryōgen to remove himself to Yokawa. Ryōgen, in return, pledged to perform esoteric fire rituals (*goma*) for the repose of Tadahira's spirit at Ryōgon'in. Ryōgen secluded himself and began immediately performing the esoteric fire ritual in Tadahira's memory.[67] (*SJD* 827a) According to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden*, Ryōgen first settled in a residence hall in Minamidani at Yokawa. He later built his own residential quarters called Jōshinbō. (*SID* 83b)

Although Tadahira's death was a great loss for Ryōgen, it was not the only reason for his move to Yokawa. Ryōgen had an ulterior motive.

64Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 211.

65*Jie daisōjō shūiden* also briefly noted that Ryōgen retreated to Yokawa because had a dream warning him to be discreet in his public activities in 949. (*SID* 83b)

66A younger brother of Saneyori (900-970). Also known as *Kujōdono*. The founder of the *kujō*-sub branch within the northern branch of the Fujiwara family. By having Crown Prince Norihira (950-1011, later Emperor Reizei, r. 967-969) as his grandson, Morosuke controlled the imperial court. Although Morosuke had never been appointed to become a Regent, he was considered as the founder of the *sekkanke* (Regent's house) because his descendants were also regularly appointed to become Regent of the emperor as the grandfathers of the emperor. See Neil McMullin, "The Lotus Sutra and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 120-123.

67Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 27-28.

Fujiwara Morosuke, a son of Tadahira, requested Ryōgen to pray that his daughter Anshi (927-964), a consort to Emperor Murakami (927-967, r 946-967), might bear a son who would be named Crown Prince.[68] Ryōgen's removal to Yokawa was probably decided together with Morosuke, perhaps shortly after Tadahira's funeral during the mourning period for his farther.[69] Modern scholars agree that Morosuke secretly requested Ryōgen to perform esoteric rituals to ensure that his daughter would bear the crown prince.[70] Becoming a

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[68]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 28; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 36-38.

[69]According to the *Jie daisōjō den*, Ryōgen served the mourning family (*kano moya ni haberu* 侍彼喪家). (*SJD* 827a) It was not clear whether he attended Tadahira's funeral, he was at least involved in the meomorial sevices after the funeral. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 39-30.

[70]Some later documents, such as *Asabashō* and *Shohō yōryakushō*, record that Ryōgen was performing an esoteric practice called *uzusama no hō* (offering service for Ucchuṣma), which guarantees pregnant women a male child. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 38-39; and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 28; and Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 126-127. See also *Asabashō*; and *Shohō yōryakushō*. Neil McMullin, however, mistakenly disagree with Hori by saying, "Hori says that Fujiwara no Tadahira instructed that those rituals be performed" for his granddaughter's fetus." McMullin continues that he believes it is impossible because she "did not give birth to Prince Norihira until 5/24/950 (June 12, 950), so she could not have been pregnant any earlier than late August of 949, by which time, as mentioned above, Ryōgen was performing rituals for the deceased Tadahira." Thus, he concluded that it is unlikely that she was pregnant before Tadahira died, and "even if she was pregnant by that time she was in such an early stage of pregnancy that no one could have known of her condition." (Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 139.) In the article McMullin cited, Hori does not suggest Tadahira knew his granddaughter was pregnant. Hori merely says "Morosuke, who discovered Anshi had become pregnant, requested Ryōgen to perform ritual for her *according to his father Tadahira's will* (*yuigon ni shitagatte*)." (Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 28.) McMullin also mistakenly believes that Ryōgen was performing rituals for the fetus during late August of 949. It was, however, not clear when Ryōgen began the esoteric ritual for the deceased Tadahira. The *Jie daisōjō den* only says that Ryōgen served the mourning family. The mourning period for the deceased Tadahira lasted at least seven weeks after the death. Since Morosuke was a son of Tadahira, the official mourning period would last thirteen months according to the court custom. Interestingly, McMullin converted the birth date of Prince Norihira into western calendar (5/24/950 to June 12, 950) but not the date of Tadahira's death (the fourteenth day of the eighth month in Japanese calendar). Although McMullin does not specify what conversion method he uses, it seems that he applied Julian calendar here. (For the comparison chart of the Japanese calendar and western calendar, see Uchida Masao, ed., *Ninon rekijitsu genten* [Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1975]). If this date was converted to western calendar correctly, the earliest

grandfather of the emperor would be the most effective way to secure his political power. Morosuke did not want to reveal his ambitions during the public mourning period, especially in the presence of his elder brother, his political rival. His elder brother, Saneyori, had himself placed his daughter, Jutsushi (ca. 10th century), in the inner palace of the imperial court, but she had not been able to conceive a son and died in 947.[71]

Yokawa's secluded environment offered an isolated place for Ryōgen to perform secret prayer rituals. Morosuke's wish came true about nine months after the funeral of Tadahira. On the twenty-fourth day of the fifth month of 950, Anshi gave birth to a son, prince Norihira.[72] As soon as Ryōgen received the news, he sent a letter listing the number of fire rituals he had performed for Anshi's easy delivery and for her healthy recovery after childbirth. In return, Morosuke reciprocated with gifts.[73]

After Ryōgen fulfilled Morosuke's wish, however, Ryōgen did not return to the capital to serve as a popular prayer-offering priest in the court. Instead, Ryōgen remained at Yokawa and started a restoration project with the help of Morosuke. Ryōgen's interest in this small and poorly maintained site arose from its historical connections to Ennin's lineage. The origin of the

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possible date on which Ryōgen began his practice at Yokawa should be correctly said during the late September. Morosuke or Tadahira knew about even the most intimate details of the emperor's life. They did not have to wait for the sign of pregnancy of Anshi to make a wish of the prince. For the funeral related customs of the Heian courtiers, see Kawazoe Fusae, "Sōsō mofuku," in *Heian jidai no girei to saiji*, Yamanaka Yutaka and Suzuki Kazuo eds. (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1991), 147-158.

71Tsuchida Naoshige, *Ōchō no kizoku*, Nihon no rekishi, vol. 5 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1973), 19-20.

72Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 36-38.

73Ibid., 36-38.

Yokawa dates to 831, when Ennin, at thirty-eight years, believed he had a terminal disease. Ennin vowed to practice meditation until his death and built a small retreat at the northernmost sector of Mount Hiei called Yokawa. Three years later Ennin miraculously recovered from his illness. Resolved to make a fresh start, he copied the eight volumes of the *Lotus Sūtra* and enshrined them in the small hall, Konpon'nyohōdō,[74] also known as Shuryōgon'in, which later became the center of the Yokawa complex.[75]

During Ennin's visit to China between 838 and 847, however, Yokawa was not adequately maintained. Upon his return Ennin solicited and received help of the imperial court and the Fujiwara family to remodel Konpon'nyohōdō. In 848 with their help he added another building, the Konponkannondō.[76] He resided at Yokawa until he moved to the Zentōin of Tōtō to assume the office of the third abbot of Enryakuji. Upon his departure, Ennin assigned Anne (794-868), one of his major disciples, to administer Yokawa. Anne was later appointed fourth abbot of Enryakuji in accordance with Ennin's will.[77]

During the time of Ennin and Anne, Yokawa was considered the most prestigious section on Mount Hiei, especially among Ennin's disciples. At Yokawa Ennin left a strict legacy. He insisted on traditional Tendai studies, prohibited secularization, and refused private funds. But his purist policy was

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74 Nyohōdō is a building in which enshrines copies of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

75 Hori Daiji, "Yokawa bukkyō no kenkyū," 205-209.

76 Ibid., 209.

77 Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 24-25.

counterproductive and led to the decline of Yokawa. Although esoteric rituals for courtiers at prayer-offering temples became the mainstay of Tendai priests, practices at Yokawa continued to focus on traditional Tendai doctrines, such as repentance practices based on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*hokke-senbō*), the four kinds of *samādhi* (*shishu-zanmai*), and copying the *Lotus Sūtra* (*nyohōkyō*). But traditional Tendai studies had lost their appeal even among Ennin's disciples.[78] After the death of Anne in 868 the prestige of Yokawa was eclipsed by the rising power of Enchin and his disciples, who mastered novel esoteric practices recently introduced from China.[79] In 868 Enchin succeeded Anne to become the fifth abbot of Enryakuji.

Ennin's strict administrative policies hindered Yokawa from adapting to the changing institutional climate. According to Ennin's will, Yokawa was to be maintained and administered exclusively by its residents; interference by outsiders even if they were within Ennin's lineage, was prohibited. As a measure against the privatization of Enryakuji by the prayer-offering-temples of Mount Hiei, Ennin had also prohibited the resident priests at Yokawa from accepting the patronage of lay donors.[80] It seems that Ennin wanted to keep the original spirit of the Tendai founder Saichō. Ennin had hoped to develop the Japanese Tendai school through his lineage and hoped the strict maintenance of Yokawa would provide the ideal environment for training its future leaders.

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[78]Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 210-211.

[79]Ibid., 210-211.

[80]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 33-34.

Ennin's strict policies, however, had not anticipated the advancement of Enchin's lineage, and Yokawa soon declined due to the lack of stable financial sources.[81] In 912 the imperial court granted Ōmi's provincial tax income to Shuryōgon'in, but even this was not enough to maintain the entire Yokawa.[82] As a result, members of Ennin's lineage were not so enthusiastic about becoming residence priests at Yokawa. In 926 the administrator of Zentōin of Tōtō, who supervised Yokawa, issued an order restricting entry into Konpon'nyohōdō, perhaps, because of the dangerous condition of the building.[83]

After Ennin died in 862, two of his direct disciples, Anne (794-868), the fourth abbot of Enryakuji, and Jiei (ca. 9th century) succeeded as supervisors (*kengyō*) of Shuryōgon'in at Yokawa. After their deaths, the position of supervisor of Shuryōgon'in was vacant for over thirty years until Chinchō[84] (883-964) was appointed to the position by the ninth abbot of Enryakuji, Chōi (835-906), who was also of Ennin's lineage. Chinchō oversaw the repair of the Konpon'nyohōdō,[85] but his efforts did not rectify the situation, and Yokawa

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[81]Hori Daiji,"Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)" 26, and Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 210.

[82]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 26.

[83]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 33.

[84]A disciple of Chōi and a member of the superintending clergy since 948. His highest rank in the *sōgō* was a great bishop (*daisōjō*). He became the sixteenth Tendai abbot in 964. (*SBN* 247)

[85]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 33-34; Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 26-27; and Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," in *Shiragi no Jōdokyō; Kūya • Ryogen • Genshin • Ryōnin*, Jōdo Bukkyō no shisō, vol. 6, Jan Hioku and Ishida Mizumaro eds. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 130.

continued to decline. Once the gathering place of the most serene and prestigious Tendai practitioners on Mount Hiei, Yokawa was largely abandoned and except for its few priests.[86]

After Chinchō became the sixteenth abbot of Enryakuji in 964, the administration of Yokawa fell to Enpō (ca. 10th century).[87] According to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden*, Enpō faithfully followed the regulations laid down by Ennin. Although non-affiliated priests were allowed to visit Yokawa, he did not permit them to build permanent living quarters unless they vowed to become residents of Yokawa. (*SID* 83b) Enpō, therefore, was understandably elated when Ryōgen wished to join the Yokawa as an official resident. Enpō, according to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden*, believed that Ryōgen was the person who could restore Yokawa to its former glory. (*SID* 83b)

Whether Enpō's elation was factual or just an historical embellishment by Ryōgen's hagiographers,[88] Ryōgen certainly had practical reasons for selecting Yokawa as his residence. Ryōgen understood that his future as a priest at Enryakuji was limited. His master, Risen, had died, thus excluding him from any advancement in a system based on close master-disciple relationships. Physically remote and institutionally isolated, Yokawa was a no

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86Its secluded location was suitable for certain esoteric practices that had to be practiced in secret. For example, in 938, a Tendai priest Jōzō (887-964) performed an esoteric ritual dedicated to Daiitoku myōō (*daiitokuhō*) invoked for the subjugation of evil spirits and enemies. He practiced this ritual to defeat Taira no Masakado (?-940), a local lord in Kantō (Eastern provinces) who revolted against the imperial court. A month later, Masakado was defeated by Taira no Sadamori (ca. 10th century) and Fujiwara Hidesato (ca. 10th century). Yokawa, as well as Jōzō, was rewarded by the defeat of Masakado. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 33-34.

87Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," 130.

88Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 35.

man's land. For a masterless priest like Ryōgen, Yokawa was perhaps the only place where he could realize his own institutional vision.[89] Although Ennin's lineage for the study of Tendai doctrine and practice was in decline, Yokawa was perhaps the best place for Ryōgen. At Yokawa Ryōgen was free of political intrigue and the weight of the master-disciple tradition.

After Ryōgen withdrew to Yokawa, he focused his energy on cementing his relationship with Morosuke which had been established with the birth of Prince Norihira. Morosuke was satisfied with Ryōgen's performance, however, his political ambitions were threatened by an event beyond his control. A few months before the birth of prince Norihira, Sukehime, daughter of Fujiwara Motokata (888-953), another consort of Emperor Murakami, had given birth to Prince Hirohira (950-971).[90] Motokata was a middle counsellor (*chūnagon*) in the imperial court and was not a serious political threat to Morosuke, who was Great Minister of the Right (*udaijin*).[91] But Prince Hirohira was still the first son of Emperor Murakami. Morosuke schemed to have his grandson prince Norihira officially declared crown prince.[92] To assist Morosuke, Ryōgen continued to perform fire rituals in support of prince Norihira. In the seventh month of 950, as Morosuke wished, the emperor named Norihira crown prince. Norihira later became

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89Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 212-213.

90Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 36-38.

91See chart "Fujiwara Morosuke's Family" in Appendices.

92Tsuchida Naoshige, *Ōchō no kizoku*, 20-23.

Emperor Reizei (r. 967-969).[93]

As the grandfather of the next emperor, Morosuke had thus secured his position in the imperial court. To reward Ryōgen's performance as his prayer-offering priest, he supported the promotion of Ryōgen in the imperial court and within the Tendai school. Ryōgen became thereby an increasingly influential voice at court. Morosuke also assisted Ryōgen in developing Yokawa, both politically and financially. At the strong recommendation of Morosuke, in 950 Ryōgen was appointed guardian priest for the crown prince (*tōgū gojisō*).[94] (*SJD* 827a) In 951 Ryōgen received from Kakue the title of *ajari*, the highest rank of an esoteric master. (*SJD* 827a, *DSD* 739a) Ryōgen's swift promotion to these significant positions was unprecedented. He was forty years old, only twenty four years since his ordination, and he was still an ordinary priest (*bonsō*) who did not have a position in the office of superintending clergy.[95]

Morosuke counted on Ryōgen's skill in various religious rituals to secure the welfare of the crown prince and the prosperity of his family. During this period Morosuke feared the angry spirit (*onryō*) of Fujiwara Motokata who, it was believed, died in despair in 953,[96] only three years after

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[93]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 36-38.

[94]Ibid., 39.

[95]Morosuke's political patronage was perhaps indispensable to Ryōgen's ascension to *ajari*. Although Ryōgen was a talented prayer-offering priest, his mastery of esoteric rituals was insufficient for the title of *ajari*. It was only two years after he received a testimonial (*inshin*) of the transmission of the three great esoteric practices from Kakue in 949. (*SID* 83b) See also, Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 40.

[96]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 28, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 45-46.

Motokata's son, Hirohira, had lost the chance to become crown prince. To Morosuke's distress, Crown Prince Norihira suffered from mental disorders which became increasingly apparent as he grew up. People believed it was the curse of Fujiwara Motokata.[97] The angry spirit of the dead was, however, beyond the reach of Morosuke's political power. The unfortunate situation of prince Norihira provided another career opportunity for Ryōgen.

Specifically, Morosuke's patronage of Ryōgen and Yokawa became more and more generous.[98] In order to reward Ryōgen's help, Morosuke became a Yokawa supporter. In 954, the Hokkezanmaidō, donated by Morosuke, was opened,[99] and Morosuke, with his eldest son, Fujiwara Koretada (924-972), attended the opening ceremony to pray for the prosperity of his family.[100] (*SJD* 827a) Morosuke also provided the funds for six new priests positions at the Hokkezanmaidō.[101] Morosuke introduced Ryōgen to

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97It was believed that Motokata's angry spirit cursed the imperial house for the next sixty years until crown prince Atusakira, a son of Emperor Sanjō, renounced his title as prince Atusyoshi, in 1017. Since then, the descendants of Emperor Reizei have not ascended the throne. See Tsuchida Naoshige, *Ōchō no kizoku*, 23-25, and 307-310.

98Ryōgen's financial situation improved considerably after Morosuke became his patron. In 955 he built his mother's house in Nōka village and celebrated her seventieth birthday. (*SID* 84a) Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 31.

99Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 29, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 42-46.

100According to the *Jie daisōjō den* at the opening ceremony, Morosuke, who was in charge of the lighting service, made a wish for the prosperity of his family before he struck the flint. He made the appeal that if he could light the fire with no more than three strikes of flint stone, his wish for prosperity would be granted. The fire started with one strike. (*SJD* 827a) The details of Morosuke's visit to Yokawa is recorded in Morosuke's diary, *Kyūreki itsubun*. (*Kyūreki*, in *Dainihon kokiroku* [Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1958], 217-218.) The *Jie daishi den* also recorded a similar story but it mistakenly dated the opening as 946. (*DSD* 737b) See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 42-45, and Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 126-127.

101Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 29.

the emperor and other higher ranking courtiers. In 955 with the strong recommendation of Morosuke, Emperor Murakami invited Ryōgen to represent the Tendai school at the lecture meeting commemorating the *Lotus Sūtra* copied by the emperor himself (*shinpitsu Hokke mihakkō*) at Kokiden in the imperial palace.[102] (*SID* 83b)

Morosuke's involvement with Yokawa went beyond that of a very generous lay patron. In 955 Morosuke sponsored a week-long lecture meeting on the *Lotus Sūtra* at Yokawa. (*SID* 83b-84a) But his support was not without conditions. During the lecture meeting, Morosuke requested that he be allowed to join Yokawa after retirement and even advanced funds to Ryōgen to have a residential hall built for his accommodation.[103] (*SID* 84a) Ryōgen pledged to Morosuke that his disciples would continuously perform rites for his and his family's prosperity even after Ryōgen's death. Morosuke, in return, pledged that his family, from generation to generation, would support Yokawa. In order to ensure that this would happen, Morosuke made one of his sons, Jinzen (943-990), a disciple of Ryōgen in 958.[104] Morosuke wanted to guarantee the Yokawa's continued loyality and protection of his family. Jinzen's presence virtually assured that Morosuke's political opponents could not take over Yokawa. With Jinzen as his disciple, Ryōgen finally overcame

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102This was the first *mihakkō* held at the imperial palace. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 50-51, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō),"33.

103Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 51-52.

104Jinzen received ordination and received the confirmation of precepts from the fifteenth abbot of Enryakuji, Enshō at the age of sixteen. Soon after, he joined Yokawa as a disciple of Ryōgen. Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 221, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 55-57.

the disadvantage of not having an influential master priest to promote him at Enryakuji, since he had become the master of a son of the most powerful figure in the imperial court.[105]

Was there a direct connection between the esoteric fire rituals and Morosuke's political success? Was Ryōgen just lucky that everything went his way? Did Ryōgen exercise other practical measures to ensure his success other than magical rituals? Although we cannot definitively answer these questions, it is certain that Ryōgen applied the knowledge and skills, that he learned through his own adverse experiences, to change the course of his life.

With the political and financial support of Fujiwara Morosuke, Ryōgen rapidly restored Yokawa's institutional standing and secured his position within the Japanese Tendai school. Ryōgen, who lost his master-priest Risen, before his ordination, was deprived of political connections which diminished his chances to obtain a stable position either at Tōtō or at Saitō. Although physically remote and institutionally isolated, Yokawa was an uncultivated field ready for development by Ryōgen and Morosuke's religio-

105Morosuke depended on Ryōgen on all occasions. He invited Ryōgen to his residence, Bōjōdai, to perform a prayer-offering service for his wife Kōshi's easy childbirth in 957. Kōshi, however, died from post-partum infections from the birth of a daughter, Kinsue. Morosuke's interest in Pure Land Buddhism might have arisen from his beloved wife's death. Modern scholars believe that Morosuke requested Ryōgen to write *Kuhon ōjōgi* (Notes on the nine grades of birth in Amida's Pure Land) after the death of Kōshi. Modern historians suspect Ryōgen's authorship of the *Kuhon ōjōgi*. Hirabayashi Moritoku thinks the text was, perhaps, co-authored by Ryōgen's disciples and presented to Morosuke under Ryōgen's name. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 52-55 and 184-186. See also Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," 160-161, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 35-36.

political interests and energy.[106]

Patronage by Fujiwara Morosuke was, however, strictly speaking, a transgression against Ennin's exacting administrative policies. Ennin had prohibited institutional interference by secular influences like those exerted on private prayer-offering-temples. Ennin had also prohibited residents from cultivating the patronage of lay donors.[107] Without the help of private patrons, however, it was impossible to maintain this monastic complex isolated in the least accessible terrain on Mount Hiei. In order to restore Yokawa, Ryōgen needed the political and financial support of Fujiwara Morosuke. Morosuke's involvement in Yokawa's development was in technical compliance with Ennin's policies because Morosuke had pledged to join Yokawa after his retirement from his position in the imperial court. While promoting Morosuke's personal politico-religious interests, Ryōgen had also to avoid the perception that he was selfishly flouting Ennin's personal directives.

Ryōgen justified Morosuke's financial support by maintaining that the aid was not for himself and his disciples, but for all the disciples of Ennin at Yokawa. Morosuke himself pledged his loyalty to all the disciples of Ennin,

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[106]Yokawa was perhaps the only institution where Ryōgen could establish his own institutional platform. Yokawa was the only place on Mount Hiei which had not been intimately involved with Mount Hiei's institutional development since the time of Ennin. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 33-36, and Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 212-213.

[107]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 25, and Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 209-210.

and not only to Ryōgen and his disciples at Yokawa.[108] Morosuke also demonstrated his generosity to other factions of Ennin's disciples. For example, Morosuke entrusted Jisshō (891-956), a disciple of Ennin, with the mountain Tōnomine in Nara which was the burial ground of the Fujiwara family. Morosuke also pledged to Jisshō that the administration of Tōnomine was only to be the charge of the disciples of Ennin.[109]

Morosuke's support of Ennin's lineage at Enryakuji had a strong impact on the power politics of the Japanese Tendai school. When Ryōgen joined Yokawa in 949, the Japanese Tendai school was undergoing an internal political tug of war carried on between the lineages of Enchin and Ennin. Since the fifth abbot Enchin, priests from his lineage had dominated the administration of Mount Hiei. This domination continued for about sixty years. It ended in 926 with the appointment of Son'i, the thirteenth abbot, from Ennin's lineage.[110] With the appointment of Enshō (879-964) as the fifteenth abbot in 946, Ennin's lineage began to reassert itself. It was during this period that Ryōgen, a young, bright scholar of Ennin's lineage with strong political and financial support from the Fujiwaras, appeared. Ryōgen was on the ascendant side of the political power.[111]

Ryōgen's liaison with Fujiwara Morosuke continued beyond the restoration of Yokawa. Ryōgen, with his position on Mount Hiei secured,

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108Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 48, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 30-31.

109Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 31-32.

110Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 46-47.

111Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 35-36.

next had designs to establish Yokawa as a center for the disciples of Ennin. By so doing, Ryōgen, as the head administrator of Yokawa, would then be able to claim the leadership of all Ennin's disciples. In order to effect his plan, Ryōgen began a campaign to revive the traditional study of Tendai doctrine that Ennin had stressed. The opening in 954 of the Hokkezanmaidō, dedicated to the practice of the *Lotus Sūtra samādhi,* marked the beginning of the new era for Yokawa and the revival of the long-neglected traditional exoteric Tendai practices. The restoration of buildings and traditional practices were, however, not enough. Ryōgen recruited and trained students to be the future leaders of the Japanese Tendai school. He enthusiastically sponsored *sūtra* lectures and doctrinal debates at Yokawa. Genshin (942-1017), who was to become a leading Tendai scholar, was ordained and joined Yokawa around 956.[112]

Ryōgen's ambitious plan to unify the disciples of Ennin was temporarily suspended by the sudden death of Fujiwara Morosuke in 960.[113] Morosuke's patronage of Ryōgen was widely publicized, and the sudden death of the most influential politician in the imperial court placed Ryōgen in a delicate position. Ryōgen, however, reacted to Morosuke's death with an equanimity lacking at the time of the death of Fujiwara Tadahira. Historical records do not indicate that Ryōgen performed any special ritual for Morosuke's benefit, such as the three hundred day fire ritual which he had

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112Although it is believed Genshin was ordained by the end of the Tenryaku era (956), the exact date of his ordination is not known for certain. See Kawasaki Hiroyuki, *Genshin,* Nihon no meicho vol. 4 (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1983), 8-9, and Ishida Mizumaro, "Genshin, " 193-194.

113Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 36-37.

done for Tadahira in 949. It seemed that by taking Morosuke's son as his disciple, he did not have to prove his loyalty to the family any further.[114]

Although Morosuke had promised his family's support of Yokawa, Ryōgen was cautious. There were other Fujiwaras in the court, such as Morosuke's brothers, Fujiwara Saneyori, who held the position of Great Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*), Morouji and Morotada. In addition to the Fujiwaras, Minamoto Takaakira held the position of Great Minister of the Right (*udaijin*)[115] and was also related to Morosuke's family by marriage.[116] Compared to these senior courtiers, Morosuke's sons were still young and their positions in the court uncertain. Koretada (924-972), the eldest son, was thirty seven and had just became a Royal Advisor (*sangi*). The younger brothers, Kanemichi (925-977), age thirty six, and Kaneie (929-990), thirty two, held only very minor positions in the imperial court.[117]

In order to avoid political intrigue after the death of Morosuke, Ryōgen withdrew from public activities. In 961 Ryōgen declined an invitation to participate in the five platform ritual (*godanhō*), an esoteric practice to expel national disasters, at Dainichiin at Saitō at Enryakuji.[118] This ritual was held

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[114]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 58-60.

[115]Ibid., 60-61.

[116]Tsuchida Naoshige, *Ōchō no kizoku*, 28.

[117]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 60. The political uncertainties of Morosuke's family were evidenced by the ordination of Takamitsu (ca. 10th century), Jinzen's older brother, as a Tendai priest in 961. He wished to join Yokawa first. Although Ryōgen took Takamitsu's tonsure, he was not welcomed there. Takamitsu, six months later, moved to Tōnomine. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 65-69. See also chart "Fujiwara Morosuke's Family" in Appendices.

[118]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 61-65.

at the behest of Emperor Murakami probably as a response to the destruction of the inner palace (*dairi*) of Heian-kyō in 960 and other natural disasters.[119] Ryōgen was invited to lead the platform for the esoteric ritual dedicated to Daiitoku myōō (*daiitokuhō*). It was the first invitation Ryōgen received to lead a major official service.[120] The invitation to participate presented Ryōgen with the opportunity to confirm his reputation as a high priest of Enryakuji, rather than as a private prayer-offering priest for the late Morosuke.[121] Ryōgen, however, refused this career opportunity and avoided any public appearance for the next four years.[122]

Although Ryōgen abstained from public appearances, he remained loyal to Morosuke's family. Ryōgen continued to officiate at services for Morosuke's family, for which he was rewarded financially. In 961 at the request of Morosuke's daughter, Anshi, a consort of Emperor Murakami, Ryōgen officiated at the first annual memorial service for Morosuke at Shingondō at Yokawa.[123] (*SID* 84a) It was held only a month and half after he had turned down the invitation to perform the five platform ritual.[124] Indeed, Morosuke's death led to several positive aspects for Ryōgen. For example, it was lucrative for Ryōgen and Yokawa. Jinzen, Morosuke's son,

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119Ibid., 61-62.

120Other attendants of the rituals, Kikyō, Gajō, Jinshin, and Chōyū, were all higher ranking career Tendai priests. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 63.

121Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 62.

122Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 36-37.

123Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 63.

124Ibid., 64.

inherited eleven manors (*shōen*) in ten provinces. Ryōgen, as the master-priest of Jinzen, had virtual control over all these financial resources. Ryōgen himself also received many estates from Morosuke's family.[125]

In addition, Anshi, a consort of Emperor Murakami and mother of crown prince Norihira, continued to support Ryōgen. In 961 Ryōgen performed esoteric practices at the imperial court (*mishiho*) for the welfare of Crown Prince Norihira at the request of Anshi. Ryōgen was granted an ordinand (*dosha*) to assist him.[126] Other members of Morosuke's family also counted on Ryōgen's spiritual assistance for their unstable future. In 962 Morosuke's son, Koretada, allocated revenue from his estate to support the daily practice of the *Lotus Sūtra samādhi* (*hokke-zanmai*) at Ryōgon'in.[127] While the loss of Morosuke created a political vacuum at the imperial court, Ryōgen had more financial freedom in the administration of Yokawa. He began to quietly ready himself to make a dramatic move to gain a more powerful position in the Tendai school.

Thus considering only Ryōgen's early life, one might not imagine that he would become the most powerful abbot in the history of Enryakuji. Becoming a priest was not Ryōgen's decision, rather it was a financial decision made by his mother, and his future did not look particularly bright. As a

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125Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 58. For a list of inherited manors, their locations and amount of known inheritance, see chart "List of Manors inherited by Jinzen" and map "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen" in Appendices.

126Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 65.

127Ibid., 69.

Tendai priest, studying the exoteric doctrine of Ennin's lineage at the Saitō did not offer a promising career since the esoteric practice of Enchin's lineage at the Tōtō was popular. The accidental death of his master priest just before the ordination also made his advancement in the clerical community very difficult.

These initial setbacks, however, made Ryōgen even more determined to succeed. Through diligent study and skill in doctrinal debate, he gradually came to be known by Heian courtiers, such as Fujiwara Tadahira who became Ryōgen's primary patron. In order to maintain his patronage, however, skill in doctrinal debate was not enough, and Ryōgen then focused on esoteric rituals so as to become a professional prayer-offering priest. Ryōgen's successful career as a prayer-offering priest ended with Tadahira's death in 949, when Tadahira's memorial service, Ryōgen mysteriously secluded himself at Yokawa. Historical evidence shows that Ryōgen's retreat to Yokawa was in collaboration with Fujiwara Morosuke, a son of Tadahira, who wished to serve his grand son the position of Crown Prince. The close bond between Ryōgen and Morosuke was firmly sealed by the birth of Prince Norihira in 950, and Morosuke even made one of his sons, Jinzen, a disciple of Ryōgen.

Instead of claiming to be a prayer-offering priest with a wealthy patron, however, Ryōgen used his new found security to train young priests. At Yokawa, Ryōgen devoted Morosuke's generous funding to his disciples' education, reviving the study of Tendai's exoteric doctrine rather than on the popular esoteric rituals. He trained talented students to be future leaders of the Tendai school, and Yokawa gradually evolved into an active center for the study of Tendai doctrine.

Ryōgen recognized the unstable status of esoteric prayer-offering priests, which depended upon individual patronage, and established a means of funding for his students that did not rely solely on an individual. Yokawa's contract with Morosuke extended beyond his lifetime. Jinzen, Morosuke's son who inherited a number of estates from Morosuke, and Ryōgen, as Jinzen's master-priest, had virtual control over all these financial resources. Thanks to Ryōgen's planning, Morosuke's death, in fact, further stabilized the financial security of Yokawa.

CHAPTER III

Period of Reforms (963-972)

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, "Becoming Tendai Abbot (963-966)," by focusing on the Ōwa debate which took place on 963, I will examine Ryōgen's sprint to become the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji, the highest administrative position of the Tendai school. First I will introduce the background of the Ōwa debate, which was Ryōgen's challenge to the clerical establishment. Second I will analyze the Ōwa debate, through which Ryōgen demonstrated his new leadership of the Tendai school. For the outline of the Ōwa debate, I will primarily rely on the *Ōwa shūron nikki* (henceforth *OSK*), the most detailed historical account of the debate. Third I will examine the swift promotion of Ryōgen after the Ōwa debate, which enabled him to attain the seat of abbot of Enryakuji, the highest administrative position of the Japanese Tendai school.

In the second section, "Rebuilding Enryakuji (966-972)," I will examine Ryōgen's effort to rebuild the institutional integrity of Enryakuji and the Japanese Tendai school. First I will give an overview of Ryōgen's reconstruction of Enryakuji which was destroyed by fire in 966. Second I will

examine Ryōgen's concurrent effort to rebuild Tendai's clerical discipline and institutional identity. Third, I will review the institutional development of Yokawa especially which eventually became in 972 an independent entity within Enryakuji. In this section I will attend to how Ryōgen transformed a seemingly debilitating situation created by the fire of 966 into an opportunity to enhance the Tendai school.

1. Becoming Tendai Abbot (963-966)

In 963 four years after the death of Fujiwara Morosuke, Emperor Murakami invited from the clerical community in the capital and Nara, ten scholars from the Tendai school and ten from the Six Nara Schools, to the imperial palace for a five-day doctrinal debate (*rongi*) at a lecture meeting (*kōe*) on the *Lotus Sūtra* called the *Hokke jikkō* (ten lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*). The emperor called the meeting to commemorate his completion of the copying of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The meeting was held at Seiryōden, the emperor's private residence in the imperial palace.[1] (*SJD* 837b, *DSD* 739b-740a) The meeting was an opportunity for Ryōgen, who had recently lost his influential court patron, to gain a more powerful position in the administration of Enryakuji. During the debate at the lecture meeting, later

[1]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 69.

named the Ōwa debate (*Ōwa no shūron*),[2] Ryōgen wielded his considerable talent to challenge the doctrinal authority of the scholars of the Nara Buddhist schools.

Examining the background of the Ōwa debate, we find that Ryōgen planned the doctrinal debate during his quiet four years. After the death of Morosuke in 960, Ryōgen could not expect political support from the imperial court, since Morosuke's sons were relatively young and still minor figures. In order to expand his power in the priestly Tendai community, Ryōgen needed to appeal dramatically to key figures in the imperial court. Ryōgen, fortunately, as the guardian priest of Crown Prince Norihira had access to Emperor Murakami. According to the *Ōwa shūron nikki*,[3] he approached the emperor at least two years before the debate took place. (*OSK* 87a) On the twenty eighth of the fourth month of the year, Ryōgen visited the emperor at Seiryōden. During his audience with the emperor, Ryōgen asserted that the Hossō school, as the supervisor of the six schools (*rokushū no chōja*), was given an overly favorable position in the clerical community.[4] (*OSK* 87a)

The emperor was sympathetic. Consequently, Ryōgen invited representatives of other Buddhist schools to join in his appeal. According to the *Ōwa shūron nikki*, on the fifteenth of the fifth month in 961, he wrote to

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[2]The debate was called Ōwa debate, because it was held in third year of Ōwa era (961-963). Accounts of the Ōwa debate appear in various historical and semi-historical documents other than the *Jie daisōjō den* and the *Ōwa shūron nikki*. They are *Nihonki ryaku*, *Fusō ryakki*, *Saikyūki*, *Buppōdenrai shidai*, *Genkō shakusho*, *Ainōshō*, *Hekisan nichiroku*, and *Sokenki*.

[3]For the bibliographical information of the text, see Introduction, footnote 15.

[4]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 38-40, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 73.

Genkei (891-966) of the Kegon school and Ichijō (? Kanri [894-974])[5] of the Sanron school and urged them to file their opinions concerning the dominance of the Hossō school as the supervisor of the six schools. By the end of the year, the representatives of the Tendai, Kegon, and Sanron schools had filed their petitions.[6] (*OSK* 87a) In response, next year in the third month, the emperor requested the representatives of each school to present a report concerning the doctrine of their respective schools so that the imperial court could reevaluate the status of all Buddhist schools. The official reports from the Buddhist schools, however, were not filed for more than one year. (*OSK* 87a)

According to the *Ōwa shūron nikki*, in 963, on the fifth day of the sixth month, the emperor sent another official notice to each school. This time Emperor Murakami requested the representatives of the Tendai and Nara Buddhist schools to attend a service celebrating the completion of the copying of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*mikyō kuyō*) which was scheduled on the nineteenth day of the month. (*OSK* 87b) The service was, for some reason, rescheduled twice. The imperial court finally settled the date to be the twenty first day of the eighth month. The emperor invited twenty priests from Mount Hiei and Nara to discuss the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*, so that he could review each Buddhist school and reevaluate their institutional status. (*OSK* 87b-88a)

5The author of the *Ōwa shūron nikki* had apparently misidentified Ichijō (883-947) who had by 963 been dead sixteen years earlier. Hori Daiji believes that the author is actually referring to Kanri, who also attended the Ōwa debate. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō, (jō)," 38 and 54-55; and *SBN* 6 and 70.

6Kegon school filed its petition on eighth day of the eighth month, Sanron school on third day of the tenth month, and Tendai school on sixth of the eleventh month. See also Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 73.

These records cited in the *Ōwa shūron nikki* indicate that the Ōwa debate is best described as being contrived by Ryōgen to challenge the institutional authority of the Hossō school.[7] The format of the debate reveals that it was a confrontation between the scholars of the Tendai school and Six Nara Schools.[8] Although the representatives from the Six Nara Schools included two Sanron scholars and one Kegon scholar, clearly the focus of the doctrinal debate pitted Tendai scholars against Hossō scholars. Ryōgen's bold challenge probably shocked the administrators of the Hossō school, who had never had their doctrinal authority challenged in public by an unranked priest like Ryōgen. They were, however, constrained to honor the invitation from the emperor.[9]

Ryōgen also had another agenda for the Ōwa debate. He used the debate to consolidate his power within the Tendai school. Although Ryōgen was a rising star within the lineage of Ennin in the Tendai school, he was still a minor figure. In order to obtain a higher administrative position, it would be necessary for him to become a member of the office of superintending clergy.[10] He also needed strong support from the imperial court, since Tendai priests at Enryakuji were under the direct supervision of the Council of State. Ryōgen, at the age of fifty two, needed to advance his career at Mount Hiei by

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7Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 40, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 75.

8Ogami Kanchū, "Ōwa no shūron to shūyōgika no kakuritsu," 58-68. For the roster of the debate, see "Roster of the Ōwa Debate" in Appendices.

9By simply initiating the debate Ryōgen no doubt generated great publicity among the courtiers. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 41.

10Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 81-82.

compellingly demonstrating his ability to the superintending clergy and to the imperial court.

For Ryōgen, the significance of the Ōwa debate was, perhaps, more institutional than doctrinal. Ryōgen's political standing within the Tendai school is reflected in the roster of the Tendai priests in the debate.[11] The representatives of the Buddhist schools of Nara included Kanri of the Sanron school and Genkei of the Kegon school. Both held the title of superintendent (*risshi*) at the office of superintending clergy.[12] In addition, two of them, Anshū (893-971) and Hōzō (904-968) of the Hossō school, held the title of certified lecturers (*ikō*), indicating that they had successfully completed the lectureship of the three great-lecture-meetings (*sandaie*). Two others, Heishū (ca. 9th-10th centuries) and Sentō (918-989), held the title of certified respondent (*ryūgi*) since they had attended the Yuimae as respondents.[13]

In contrast, none of the representatives of the Tendai school held titles for the office of superintending clergy or as certified lecturers. Three of them, Zenyu (910-994), Shōku (908-999), and Kakukei (926-1014), were Ryōgen's disciples.[14] Yokei (918-991) and Chikō (ca. 10th century) belonged to Enchin's lineage. Among the ten Tendai participants, only Zenyu was senior to

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11Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 41-43, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 74-75.

12See *SBN* 70 and 106.

13Hirabayashi Moritoku, Ryōgen, 74-75. See also, *SBN* 271 and 204; and the *Yuimae kōji kengaku ryūgi shidai*.

14Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 42-43.

Ryōgen.[15] Although there were no official rules to select participants, these ten priests were not publicly recognized as scholars who could best represent the Tendai tradition because they were all relatively young and minor figures.[16]

The senior administrators of the Tendai school were obviously not involved in the selection of their representatives to the debate. The major scholars within Ennin's lineage did not assist or cooperate with Ryōgen. Nor did any major figure from Ennin's lineage attend the debate.

Perhaps the established officials and scholars of the Tendai school were reluctant to help Ryōgen with the Ōwa debate. Accordingly, whether the Tendai school won or lost, Ryōgen and his Yokawa disciples would bear the responsiblity. The debate was, at best, regarded as merely promoting Ryōgen's personal ambition.[17] At worst for the priests who understood Ryōgen's ambitions, the debate appeared to be nothing but a political show, and it was not fully endorsed. For example, Senkan, one of the leading Tendai scholars of the time, declined to participate in the debate.[18] Even among Ryōgen's disciples, Zōga (917-1003), considered to be a leading figure, declined the invitation. Zōga left Yokawa for his retreat in Tōnomine in Yamato province

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[15]Ibid., 43.

[16]There were better qualified scholars in the Tendai school, such as Shunsen (899-964) who became a superintendent of the lower rank in 963, or Zengei (902-980) who was appointed as a lecturer of Yuimae in 963. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 75.

[17]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 43 and 44-45.

[18]Senkan was in retreat at Kannon'in in Minō of Settsu province, present day Osaka prefecture, not far from Kyoto. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 43, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 78.

a month before the debate.[19] Scholars of the Six Nara Schools also criticized Ryōgen. Ninga (ca. 10th century) of the Hossō school declined the invitation and joined Zōga at Tōnomine to become became his disciple. Their retreat was an obvious protest against Ryōgen.[20]

The five-day lecture meeting started on the twenty-first day of the eighth month of the third year of the Ōwa era (963). It was held at the Seiryōden, the emperor's residence in the imperial palace. The doctrinal debate was a series of formal lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*, with each lecture followed by questions to the lecturer. The series began with a lecture on the *Muryōgi-kyō* followed by eight lectures on each of the *Lotus Sūtra's* eight fascicles. It concluded with a lecture on the *Kanfugen-gyō*. Lectures were delivered twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening.[21] The lecture format consisted of two priests, a leader (*dōshi*) who lectured and a respondent (*monja*) who asked the questions. The leader lectured on the assigned text and presented his interpretation together with related doctrinal issues. The respondent posed questions to the leader's doctrinal

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19Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 43-44, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 78-79.

20According to the *Tōnomine ryakki*, Zōga retreated to Tōnomine on invitation of Nyokaku (Fujiwara Takamitsu) the eighth son of Morosuke. Nyokaku (Takamitsu) was ordained at Yokawa in 961. He then retreated to Tōnomine, because his residency at Yokawa was refused by Ryōgen. Nyokaku still had animosity against Ryōgen for his treatment which motivated him to help the retreat of Zōga and perhaps Ninga's, too. Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," 138-139, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 44. See also footnote 117 in the Chapter Two; and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 65-69.

21Ogami Kanchū, "Ōwa no shūron to shūyōgika no kakuritsu," 58-68.

interpretation.[22]

According to the *Ōwa shūron nikki*, the lectures progressed smoothly until the evening lecture on the second day. At that session, a heated debate erupted between Hōzō of the Hossō school and Kakukei (927-1014) of the Tendai school over the interpretation of the ideas of "one vehicle" and "buddha-nature" expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*.[23] (*OSK* 88a, *SJD* 827b, *DSD* 739b) Their interpretations differed on their respective approachs to the text. While the Tendai interpreted these ideas literally, the Hossō understood them metaphorically. According to the *sūtra*, all different views of Buddhism, including non-Mahāyāna ones, can be subsumed under the "one vehicle" of Mahāyāna through which all sentient beings are able to attain buddhahood.[24] The Tendai scholars supported their view of the one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra* by the idea of the universal presence of buddha-nature (*shitsuu busshō*) in all beings (existence) expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, which they considered as having scriptural authority equal to the *Lotus Sūtra*.[25]

The Hossō scholars interpreted statements in the *Lotus Sūtra*

22In the Ōwa debate, ten priests representing the Tendai school and ten priests representing the Nara schools (seven Hossō scholars, two Sanron scholars, and one Kegon scholar) debated with each other, some as lecturers and the others as respondents. For the roster and program of the debate, see "Roster of the Ōwa Debate" and "Program of the Ōwa Debate" in Appendices.

23Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 71.

24Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 130. See also Tamura Yoshirō, "The Ideas of the *Lotus Sutra*," in *The Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*, 41.

25Ōchō Enichi, "Hokke-kyō wo meguru busshō ronsō," *Bukkyō shisōshi*, vol. 4, Bukkyō naibu ni okeru tairon; Chūgoku, Chibetto (Kyoto: Heirakuji shoten, 1981), 19-32. See also Paul Williams, *Mahayana Buddhism: the Doctrinal Foundations* (London: Routledge, 1989), 155-159.

metaphorically.[26] According to the Hossō theory, only those sentient beings whose nature is innately endowed with the ability to become a bodhisattva are able to attain buddhahood. All other sentient beings, who are predetermined to follow non-Mahāyāna Buddhist paths or who do not have the potentiality to follow any of the Buddhist paths, are unable to realize buddhahood. The Hossō scholars maintained that the teaching of one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra* and the idea of the universality of buddha-nature in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* are skillful means used by the Buddha to lead capable Buddhist and non-Buddhist practitioners to the Mahāyāna path of spiritual emancipation.[27] Kakukei, the respondent, challenged the Hossō school's theories of "one-vehicle" and "buddha-nature" which contradicted the Tendai's interpretations of these ideas. (*OSK* 88a, *SJD* 827b, *DSD* 739b)

Kakukei, still young and inexperienced in public debate, was no match against Hōzō, a reknown and experienced scholar. Seeing that Kakukei was being overwhelmed, Ryōgen replaced Kakukei and countered Hōzō's argument with the Tendai school's theory of buddha-nature that all sentient beings have the possibility of attaining of buddhahood. (*OSK* 88a, *SJD* 827b, *DSD* 739b) A heated debate between Ryōgen and Hōzō continued late into the evening until the fourth quarter of the hour of the dog (*inu shiten*, 8:30 P.M.)

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[26]The Hossō scholars' argument is based on such *sūtras* as *Saṃdhinirmocana Sūtra* and *Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra* in which sentient beings are classified into five categories according to their spiritual capabilities. They are: 1. *bosatsu jōshō*, the fixed nature of a bodhisattva; 2. *engaku jōshō*; the fixed nature of pratyekabuddha; 3. *shōmon jōshō*, fixed nature of a *śrāvaka*; 4. *fujōsho*, the indeterminate nature capable of becoming any of the three kind of sages, i.e. *bodhisattva*, *śrāvaka*, and *pratyekabuddha*; and 5. *mushō ujō*, sentient beings incapable of becoming any of the three kind of sages. See Tamura Kōyū, "Tendai shū to Hossō shū no ronsō," *Bukkyō shisōshi*, vol. 5, Bukkyō naibu ni okeru tairon; Nihon (Kyōto: Heirakuji shoten, 1982), 23-51.

[27]See Tamura Kōyū, "Tendai shū to Hossō shū no ronsō," 35-40.

without resolution. The debate continued to the third day. During the morning lecture of the third day, Ryōgen's incisive reasoning for the universality of salvation for all sentient beings impressed the emperor and the attending courtiers. (*OSK* 88a) According to the *Jie daisōjō den,* Ryōgen's arguments for the Tendai views of one vehicle and buddha-nature overwhelmed Hōzō, who was eventually silenced after by praising Ryōgen's eloquence as equal to that of Pūrṇa (Furuna), one of the ten great disciples of the Buddha. (*SJD* 827b, *DSD* 740a)

After the debate between Ryōgen and Hōzō had subsided, the lecture sessions continued according to schedule until the morning session of the fifth day, when Chūsan (927-969), a Hossō scholar of Kōfukuji, resumed arguing against the Tendai interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra* presented by Ryōgen two days before. The emperor, impressed by Chūsan's performance against the Tendai priest, Juchō (ca. 10th century), requested that he continued to serve as a respondent for that evening's session. The emperor also requested that Chūsan insert a section on Buddhist logic (*inmyō*), a speciality of Hossō scholars. Kanri, a representative of the Sanron school, however, appealed to the emperor to reconsider the introduction of the section of Buddhist logic by arguing that subject was too complicated for the audience.[28] The emperor accepted Kanri's appeal, but Chūsan remained the respondent for the evening session against the Tendai priest Shōku. (*OSK* 88b)

Representatives from the Hossō school, it appears, maneuvered behind the scenes to recover from Hōzō's defeat by Ryōgen. Chūsan, whose name

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[28]See Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," 125.

appears last on the Six Nara Schools' attendant list of the *Ōwa shūron nikki*, seems to have been called into the debate after it had started. According to the *Genkōshakusho*, Fujiwara Fuminori (909-996), a patron of Kōfukuji who saw Ryōgen winning the debate against Hōzō, rushed to Nara during the night of the third day to bring Chūsan, a promising young Hossō scholar at Kōfukuji, to counter Ryōgen.[29] The historicity of this story is arguable, but Chūsan emerged as the pre-eminent debater for the Hossō school who carried it to its slim victory.

Although the opponent of the evening session of the last day was Shōku, Chūsan persisted in revisiting the exchange between Ryōgen and Hōzō in order to refute the Tendai interpretation of the one vehicle and buddha-nature. Chūsan, as a representative of the Hossō school, made line-by-line counter arguments against the interpretations advanced by Ryōgen on the second and third days. Chūsan's eloquence impressed the emperor and the attending courtiers. During these sessions, however, Ryōgen remained puzzlingly silent, even though Chūsan's counter arguments bore in on his interpretations. (*OSK* 88b) Because Ryōgen refrained from further comment, Chūsan's counter argument prevailed. At the end, the emperor presented Chūsan with lavish praise and a silver grail.[30] (*OSK* 88b)

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[29]Ogami Kanchū, "Ōwa no shūron to shūyōgika no kakuritsu," 65.

[30]Since there was no clear record how the winner of the debate was determined, the result of the debate is arguable. For example, the *Genkō shakusho* and the *Fusō ryakki* reports the victory of Ryōgen and the *Honchō kōsōden* and the *Ōwa shūronki* Chūsan. It is, however, fair to say that the Hossō school was the final winner because the debate was called by the Emperor to reevaluate the status of Hossō's position as the supervisor of the Six Nara Schools. Although Ryōgen did not lose the debate, he did not win either because since the Ōwa debate "the Hossō school has maintained its position as the supervisor of the six schools permanently, and it has never been transferred to another school." (*OSK* 87a) See Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū* (Ōtsu, Shiga-ken: Hokke daie jimukyoku, 1971), 120, and Ishida Mizumaro,

The victory of the Hossō scholar Chūsan, however, did not hurt Ryōgen's reputation as a Tendai scholar in the imperial court. Although the Tendai school did not win the overall debate, Ryōgen demonstrated his sharp mind. Modern scholars believe that Ryōgen's silence was a calculated move. Ryōgen understood well that what the audience expected was sophisticated intellectual entertainment.[31] He was astute enough to know that he should not overly humiliate the Hossō scholars from Kōfukuji, the family temple of the Fujiwara clan, if he wanted to maintain his popularity among the courtiers.[32] After Morosuke died, he needed to broaden his support by including other factions of the Fujiwara family. At the Ōwa debate, Ryōgen had strategically restricted his attack to prove that he was capable of assuming the leadership of the Tendai school. By yielding the victory to the Hossō school, Ryōgen demonstrated his flexibility and maturity as an potential administrator. This was appearently enough for Ryōgen to gain the support of the emperor and other leaders in the imperial court, and to qualify him as a future leader of the Tendai school.[33]

Although the Tendai school did not claim victory, the Ōwa debate was a great success for Ryōgen, who immediately received wide public

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"Ryōgen," 126.

[31]Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (jō); Nihon Tendai to Kamakura Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Sanseidō, 1948), 15-36.

[32]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 77.

[33]Ibid., 77.

recognition.[34] The next year (964), Emperor Murakami appointed him one of his ten guardian priests (*naigubu jūzenji*) who protected the spiritual welfare of the emperor).[35] Emperor Murakami, it seems, was satisfied with Ryōgen's perofrmance at the Ōwa debate. At fifty-three Ryōgen was appointed to the significant job of directly attending the emperor. After the appointment, the emperor frequently summoned Ryōgen to perform esoteric rituals.[36]

After the Ōwa debate, the imperial court quickly promoted Ryōgen. In 965 Ryōgen joined the ranks of priestly officers at the office of superintending clergy as a superintendent of the lower rank (*gonrisshi*). At fifty-five, he was the youngest member of the office of superintending clergy.[37] Gajō (886-967) of the Tendai school and Ankyō (896-977) of the Sanron school at Yakushiji were also appointed at the same time. Gajō was seventy-nine years old and the abbot of Hossōji, the most prestigious Tendai temple in Kyoto. He was appointed to the position because of his long service at the imperial palace as the emperor's guardian priest.[38] Ankyō was sixty-nine years old and appointed for having successfully completed a tenure of the three great-

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[34]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 40-41; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 75-76; and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyhū*, 23-30.

[35]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 45, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 80-81.

[36]In the tenth month of the year, Ryōgen performed *shijōkōhō*, to prevent natural disasters at Jijūden. Again in the twelfth month, Ryōgen performed *sonshōhō* for the welfare of the emperor. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 45, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 81.

[37]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 45, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 81-82. See also *SBN* 309-310.

[38]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 80-81. See also *SBN* 32.

lecture-meetings of the southern capital.[39] Gajō and Ankyō were promoted for their years of public service as well as for their seniority in the priestly hierarchy. In contrast, Ryōgen had no major public service experience other than the Ōwa debate and had served as the emperor's guardian priest for only one year.[40]

Ryōgen was also given a generous promotion within the Tendai school. Ryōgen's *ajari* title was transferred from Gengyōji to Enryakuji.[41] Within three years of the debate, Ryōgen had fulfilled the prerequisites to be nominated as a candidate for the position of abbot of Enryakuji.[42]

The window of opportunity opened in a timely manner. In 966, the seventeenth abbot of Enryakuji, Kikyō, died. It was on the seventeenth day of the seventh month, approximately three years after the Ōwa debate.[43] Shortly thereafter, on the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month, Emperor Murakami nominated Ryōgen the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji. Ryōgen was

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39Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 80-81. See also *SBN* 2.

40Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 81-82. See also *SBN* 309-310.

41Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 84. See also *Shōyūki*, vol. 5, in *Dainihon kokiroku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1969), 230.

42In many ways, the institutional structure of the Tendai school made Ryōgen's swift promotion possible. The Japanese Tendai school was essentially a private temple established outside of the jurisdiction of the office of superintending clergy. Appointment to the higher administrative offices of Enryakuji, the head temple on Mount Hiei, was handled directly by Council of State under imperial authority. The Council of State was the highest state office under the emperor. In order to be promoted in the Japanese Tendai school, therefore, it was necessary to have the strong support of the emperor, the imperial court, and a consensus within the Tendai clerical community. Past administrative responsibility and seniority were considered, but were not the only criteria. For example, the emperor granted the title of Enryakuji abbot, the highest priestly rank in the Tendai school, to Gishin (781-833) in 824. He was only forty six years old. See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 46, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 82-88.

43Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 83.

fifty-five years old, the youngest nominee since the fifth abbot, Enchin.[44] According to Ryōgen's biography, he was nominated to the position twice before, in 963 and in 965, but he declined these offers, saying that it was too early in his career to hold that position. His biography also notes that Ryōgen initially declined the third offer, although he later changed his mind and humbly accepted the nomination at the urging of senior priests and colleagues. (*SJD* 827b)

Modern historians, however, believe that Ryōgen was not as humble as his biography makes out.[45] Emperor Murakami's appointment of Ryōgen to the highest administrative position of the Tendai school was extraordinary. The emperor promoted Ryōgen over at least two senior career priests, Bōsan (898-967) and Gajō. Bōsan was sixty-eight years old and a career member of the office of superintending clergy. He held the rank of minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*), a few ranks higher than Ryōgen, who was a superintendent of the lower rank. Bōsan was also the head priest of Onjōji and leader of Enchin's lineage.[46] Gajō, eighty years old, was appointed to be a member of the office of superintending clergy at the same time as Ryōgen, and was one of the most senior priests of Ennin's lineage. He was also the abbot of Hosshōji, one of the most prestigious Tendai temples established by Fujiwara Tadahira in 925.[47] Given that the imperial court passed over these

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[44]ibid., 83.

[45]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 84-85, and Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," 133-135.

[46]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 85.

[47]ibid., 85-86.

two senior priests, the appointment of Ryōgen could hardly have been unanimously welcomed on Mount Hiei.

Bōsan and Gajō seemed very disappointed with the emperor's decision. The next year, in 967, Bōsan resigned his position at the office of superintending clergy and retired to his retreat, Nanzan Gokurakuji on Mount Hiei. Bōsan died that same year at his retirement residence.[48] Gajō's disappointment was even greater. As a senior priest within Ennin's lineage, his position, the abbot of Hosshōji, was generally considered to be the closest seat to the abbot of Enryakuji. Since the thirteenth Tendai abbot, Son'i, all Tendai abbots held this position prior to their nomination to abbot of Enryakuji.[49] Gajō was shocked by the appointment of Ryōgen who was a younger and less experienced priest from within the same lineage. Early the next year, Gajō also died. He remained indignant with the imperial court to the end.[50] Ryōgen's power, however, was secure and he was not affected by these disaffections and the senior priests on Mount Hiei were not able to interfere or overturn the decision of the imperial court. Ryōgen had successfully consolidated his power over the Tendai school as the leader of Ennin's lineage.

As soon as Ryōgen ascended to the top administrative position of

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[48]*SBN* 280.

[49]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 85.

[50]In 1015, the imperial court granted a posthumous title of archbishop (*sōjō*) to Gajō in order to resolve the curse of his angry spirit. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 86, Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 46. See also *Midō kanpakuki*, vol. 3, in *Dainihon kokiroku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1954), 13; *Hyakurenshō*, in *Shintei zōho: Kokushi taikei*, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan), 15; and *SBN* 32.

Enryakuji, he began taking actions to consolidate his administration. Within approximately two weeks, on the tenth day of the ninth month in 966, Ryōgen submitted the ten articles of institutional reformation to the imperial court.[51] The ten articles emphasized the traditional study of Tendai doctrine.[52] Although the details of the ten articles are lost, we know that Ryōgen proposed to subsume his administration under Ennin's lineage. In the articles, Ryōgen requested that the imperial court approve three additional *ajari* posts at Sōjiin.[53] (*SJD* 828a) Sōjiin, in Tōtō, was under the administrative control of Ennin's lineage. The *ajari* positions were to be permanently granted to the temple, and their addition would expand the administrative power of the priests of Ennin's lineage. Since Sōjiin was under the control of Ennin's lineage, these *ajari* would certainly be appointed from among Ennin's lineage. Included in the ten articles was also a proposal by Ryōgen to establish an official doctrinal debate of the Japanese Tendai school called *kōgaku ryūgi* (doctrinal discussion meeting of learned scholars).[54] (*SJD* 828a) This debate would focus exclusively on Tendai studies. By promoting the study of traditional Tendai doctrine, Ryōgen wanted to restore the

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[51]Hirabayashi Moritoku points out that Ryōgen had visited the emperor between the thirteenth to nineteenth day of the ninth month. The emperor summoned Ryōgen to the imperial palace. The emperor had asked Ryōgen to perform a blazing-light ritual (*shijōkōhō*), an esoteric ritual to prevent natural disasters, at Jijūden in the imperial palace. At that occasion, Ryōgen must have consulted the emperor about his articles submitted a few days before. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 88-89. See also *Engi tenryaku gyokishō*, cited in *Dainihon shiryō*, Part One, vol. 11 (Tokyo: Tokyō daigaku shiryō hensansho, 1942),734

[52]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 88-89. See also, *TZK* 42.

[53]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 88-89.

[54]Ibid., 88-89.

institutional identity of the Tendai school which had been emphasizing esoteric practices.

2. Rebuilding Enryakuji (966-972)

Everything seemed to go smoothly during Ryōgen's first month in office. On the twenty-sixth day of the ninth month in 966, however, Ryōgen's beloved mother passed away. She was eighty-one years old.[55] (*SID* 84a) One month after his mother's death, Ryōgen also had to face an unexpected disaster on Mount Hiei. On the twenty-eighth day of the tenth month, a fire that originated near the residential quarters of the former abbot Kikyō consumed the major buildings, in the Tōtō, the central complex at Enryakuji. More than thirty buildings including Kōdō (the main assembly hall), Sōjiin (*dhāraṇi* hall), Jōgyōdō (the constant practice [*samādhi*] hall), Hokkedō (the *Lotus Sūtra* [*samādhi*] hall), Monjurō (Mañjuśrī tower [for the constant sitting meditation]), Shōrō (bell tower), Shiōin (Four Guardian Kings' tower), and Enmyōin (the lengthening life hall) were devastated.[56]

The disaster was very serious for Ryōgen's administration and for the priests of Ennin's lineage. Kōdō, the main assembly hall at Tōtō, was one of the most significant buildings for the lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

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[55]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 89.

[56]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 89. The *Jie daisōjō shūiden* recorded that this fire started at the resident of Zōkai (date not known). (*SID* 84a) See also, *TZK* 42; *Sanmon dōshaki* 158; and *Fusōraykki*, in *Shintei zōho: Kokushi taikei*, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1932), 243.

Jōgyōdō, Hokkedō, and Monjurō were meditation halls for the Tendai's four *samādhi* practices which were essential for the traditional Tendai studies.[57] The destruction of Sōjiin was also a great loss for Ennin's lineage. Sōjiin was founded by Ennin in 859 to serve as the initiation hall of the Dharma-transmission *abhiṣeka* ceremony (*denbōkanjō*) of Tendai esotericism. The administration of Sōjiin was entrusted exclusively to the disciples of Ennin.[58] Although the official hall for the esoteric Dharma-transmission of Tendai was moved to Onjōji by Enchin in 868 when he became the fifth abbot of Enryakuji,[59] Sōjiin was still regarded as the symbolic center of Ennin's lineage and repository of the relics of the Buddha (*shari*) brought by Ennin.[60]

As soon as the fire was extinguished, Ryōgen undertook an aggressive reconstruction project.[61] As the head of the Tendai school and the leader of Ennin's lineage, Ryōgen had clear objectives for reconstructing Tōtō. He wanted to reestablish and expand the administrative power of Ennin's lineage, and to this end he focused on restoring the buildings related to Ennin's lineage and Tendai studies.[62] In 967 the reconstruction of Hokkedō

57See Shigematsu Akihisa, "Eizan ni okeru shishuzanmai'in no tenkai," in *Dengyō daishi kenkyū*, 205-216, and Saeki Arikiyo, *Ennin* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1989), 252-253.

58Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11.

59After Enchin moved the esoteric Dharma-transmision hall to Onjōji, the prestige of Sōjiin declined. A fire in 941 decimated its physical facilities. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11, and "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 26-27.

60Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 89.

61Ibid., 90.

62Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11.

and Jōgyōdō was completed.[63] Practices of *hokkezanmai* (the *Lotus Sūtra* samādhi) and *fudan nembutsu* (continuous recitation of *nembutsu*) were resumed.[64] (*SID* 84a) In 968 Ryōgen set up fund-raising offices in all the provinces for the reconstruction of Kōdō and began restoring the remainder of Tōtō. The next year Monjurō was rebuilt on Kokuzōhō in Tōtō.[65] (*SJD* 828a)

Ryōgen was especially interested in reconstructing Sōjiin, the symbolic center of Ennin's lineage. Ryōgen started its reconstruction even before that of Kōdō in 970.[66] Sōjiin was, however, destroyed by fire again soon after it was rebuilt in 970.[67] Ryōgen temporarily halted other reconstruction projects, including Kōdō to rebuild Sōjiin which was completed in 971. Opening service was held on the day of *sharie*, the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics.[68] (*SID* 84a) Sōjiin had finally been restored to its original magnificence.

The restoration of Sōjiin symbolized the ascendence of Ennin's lineage. The officiants of the service were selected from Ennin's lineage, especially

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[63]Both Jōgyōdō and Monjurō was first established by Ennin. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 93.

[64]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 93. See also *TZK 43.*

[65]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 94.

[66]During the initial stages of reconstruction, Ryōgen received good news. The imperial court approved his request for three additional *ajari* posts to Sōjiin. (*SJD* 828a) See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 92.

[67]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 95, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11.

[68]Ennin initiated the service when he returned with the relics from China in 860. This service was particularly significant among the priests of Ennin's disciples. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 12.

from Ryōgen's disciples at Yokawa.[69] Thereafter, the remaining projects continued without incident. Early in 972 the reconstruction of Kōdō, which was larger than ever, Enmyōin, and Shiōin was completed.[70]

The growing political influence of Ryōgen's patrons in the imperial court also helped Ryōgen's efforts. As soon as the rebuilding of Tōtō began, good news arrived from the imperial court. Two of Ryōgen's ten proposed articles of institutional reform, an official doctrinal debate (*kōgaku ryūgi*) at Mount Hiei, and three additional *ajari* posts at Sōjiin, were approved by the imperial court on the twenty-sixth day of the twelfth month in 966. The imperial court granted Ryōgen the title of superintendent (*risshi*).[71]

In 967 Emperor Murakami passed away and Crown Prince Norihira ascended the throne as Emperor Reizei.[72] Norihira, a grandson of Morosuke, was served by Ryōgen as a guardian priest. Morosuke's eldest son, Koretada, was appointed Regent in 970.[73] The imperial court, led by Emperor Reizei and Koretada, showed continuous support for Ryōgen. The court quickly promoted Ryōgen to successively higher positions. In 968 Ryōgen was promoted to minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*),[74] and in 971 to

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69Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 9. See also *Eigaku yōki*, 196-197.

70Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 95.

71Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 93. See also *SBN* 309.

72Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 46.

73Ibid., 48.

74Ibid., 47.

vice president of the office of superintending clergy (*gonhōmu*).[75] (*SJD* 828a)

Yet even the political support of the imperial court was not enough to complete the renewal of Tōtō. Although there is no precise cost accounting for these projects, modern scholars estimate that the destruction was so extensive that the limited state funds allocated to Enryakuji were in no way sufficient for a complete restoration. Even before the fire in 966 the tight budgets could not adequately maintain the temples on Mount Hiei. For example, in 950 the abbot Enshō had to reconstruct Kōdō at Tōtō because it was on the verge of collapse due to poor maintenance. Enshō had to raise special funds from private sources for reconstruction. Enryakuji was so strapped for funds, that it could not allocate sufficient funds to complete the reconstruction of even one building.[76] Fire damaged property was more difficult to rehabilitate. Further, the administrators of Enryakuji could not restore fully either Konponchūdō (the main assembly hall of Enryakuji) or Sōjiin after being consumed by fire in 936 and 941, respectively. When Ryōgen took over the administration, almost thirty years after the fires, these buildings still remained in makeshift condition.

In order to supplement state aid, Ryōgen dipped into his own financial resources.[77] Ryōgen did not worry much about financial matters. He and his disciple Jinzen had inherited such a huge portion of Morosuke's estates that he even returned a part of the emergency relief funds granted by the imperial

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[75]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 47, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 117-118.

[76]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 6-7.

[77]Ibid., 4-9.

court in 967.[78] (*SID* 84a)

When the reconstruction was completed in 972, six years after the fire, the Mount Hiei complex emerged larger and more prosperous than ever. On the third day of the fourth month in 972, two hundred Tendai priests together with one hundred fifty musicians, celebrated the completion of Tōtō. Numerous guests, including eminent priests from the Six Nara Schools and nobles of the imperial court, were invited to this cerebration.[79] (*SID* 84a-85b)

At this dedication ceremony, Ryōgen enlisted his major disciples from Yokawa, such as Jinzen, Genshin, and Senga, to officiate, as he himself had done at the opening ceremony for Sōjiin in 971.[80] The dedication ceremony pointedly reflected the character of the reconstruction effort, which marked the resurgence of Ennin's lineage—or, more precisely, the emergence of Ryōgen and his disciples into the mainstream of the Tendai school. The opening ceremony, which expressed Ryōgen's gratitude to his supporters, was also a public demonstration of Ryōgen's prestige and power.[81] As a further demonstration of wealth and power, during the ceremony, Ryōgen fêted his guests with music and dancing.[82] Within six years all the major buildings at Tōtō destroyed by fire were rebuilt or expanded. By supplying funds for the reconstruction, Ryōgen effectively legitimated the control of Ennin's, namely

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[78]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 93. See also *TZK* 42-43.

[79]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 95-97, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 9-10.

[80]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 96-97. See also *Eigaku yōki* 196-197.

[81]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 9.

[82]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 96-97.

his own disciples', lineage over the administrations of the major buildings at Tōtō.

While Ryōgen labored over the reconstruction of Tōtō's buildings, he also encountered a much more serious problem which threatened to undercut Saichō's original institutional ideal envisioned in the founding of Enryakuji. Saichō established the Tendai clerical community as a bodhisattva community in which every practitioner equally sought the universal emancipation for all sentient beings through the realization of the ideals of the one vehicle, buddha-nature, and bodhisattva precepts.[83] The ideals of the founder, however, no longer held sway on Mount Hiei because of the increased popularity of esoteric Buddhism among the courtiers, who believed that these practices could fulfill their personal wishes for secular success.[84] Rich aristocrats supported priests, called prayer-offering priests (*kitōsō*), who were skilled in esoteric practices.[85] The popularity of esoteric practices hastened the fragmentation of the institutional structure of the Tendai school. Esoteric masters transmitted the Dharma to his selected disciples. In such a system, the disciple owed no loyalty to the Tendai institution and did not readily identity himself as a Tendai priest.[86] During the time of Ryōgen,

[83]For the development of Saichō's institutional vision of bodhisattva community, see Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 105-165.

[84]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 97-103.

[85]Ibid., 100-101.

[86]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 35; "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 19; "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 22; and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 99.

the Tendai clerical community was rife with the factionalism stemming from the plethora of esoteric lineages.[87] Reconstruction of buildings were, perhaps, an easier task than overseeing this dysfunctional priestly community.

In order to rebuild a cohesive Tendai clerical community, Ryōgen introduced straightforward policies to revitalize the institutional foundations of the Tendai school. First, Ryōgen promoted the traditional study of Tendai doctrine, which had been overshadowed by esoteric practices. In order to promote the study of Tendai doctrine, Ryōgen initiated an annual doctrinal debate, called *kōgaku ryūgi* (doctrinal discussion meeting of learned scholars),[88] at the *hokke'e* (assembly of the *Lotus Sūtra*). The debates were held during the *minazuki'e* (the assembly of the sixth month) on Mount Hiei, a memorial ceremony for the founder, Saichō.[89] The petition to hold the *kōgaku ryūgi* was one of the ten articles which Ryōgen presented to the imperial court in 966, soon after he had become the Tendai abbot. The court officially approved it at the end of the year.[90]

Most significantly for Ryōgen and the Tendai school, the imperial court, for the first time, granted Tendai the right to have the judge (*tandai*) be

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[87]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 34-35.

[88]*Kōgaku ryūgi* literally means "establishing a [doctrinal] principle (*ryūgi*)"through the debate between the learned scholars with extensive knowledge [of scriptures] (*kōgaku*) ."

[89]It is also called *minazuki'e*, since the assembly is held on the sixth month (*minazuki*).

[90]*Kōgaku ryūgi* was a formal discussion among questioners (*monja*), critics (*nanja*), and respondents (*rissha*) on various doctrinal issues of the Tendai school. During the debate a priest was selected to preside as a judge (*tandai*), who was authorized to supervise and judge the debate. The judge chose topics for doctrinal discussion. The *rissha* responded orally to given topics with his interpretation. A debate followed the formal response. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 91 and 106-107; and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 21-22.

a Tendai priest at a doctrinal debate. Priests from the Six Nara schools, especially by the scholars of the Hossō school monopolized the judgeship.[91] Even at the major lecture meetings on Mount Hiei, such as the assemblies on the sixth month and eleventh month, the Tendai school were required to invite a judge from one of the Six Nara schools. Scholars from the Six Nara schools were also invariably chosen as respondents for the doctrinal debates held at Enryakuji.[92] For the *kōgaku ryūgi,* the imperial court officially granted the Tendai school the right to officiate a debate under the sole authority of the administration of Enryakuji. With the authority to preside over the *kōgaku ryūgi,* the study of the traditional Tendai doctrine regained prestige. The morale and confidence of the Tendai scholars also increased. In addition, the debate inculcated the Tendai priests with unaccustomed self respect.[93]

With *kōgaku ryūgi,* the Tendai doctrine not only became as authoritative as the Hossō doctrine, it also received legal sanction from the imperial court as a valid interpretation of scripture. Tendai scholars no longer had to consult with scholars of the Nara Buddhist schools to present their own views on the scriptures, as Ryōgen had been obliged to do at the Ōwa debate. Tendai scholars finally obtained authority to make their own doctrinal judgements without interference.

The first *kōgaku ryūgi* was scheduled at the end of the Assembly of the *Lotus Sūtra* held in the sixth month in 967. Curiously, the imperial court

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[91]Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū,* 113.

[92]Ibid., 113.

[93]Ibid., 113-115.

appointed Bōsan as judge. Bōsan was the head priest of Onjōji and leader of Enchin's lineage who had lost his bid for the seat of abbot a year before. Normally the judge and respondent of an official debate were appointed by the imperial court according to their scholastic reputation, not by seniority. Ryōgen, however, must have been involved in the selection process, and perhaps, in this way he offered an olive branch to Bōsan. In the end, however, the debate was canceled for undetermined reasons.[94] It is not certain whether Bōsan rejected the offer because he was still disgruntled or whether he was simply too sick to attend. As he died a few months after the first debate was canceled. The next year the court appointed Zengei (902-980), a priest from Enchin's lineage, to judge at the first *kōgaku ryūgi*. The court also appointed two respondents, Shunei (ca. 10th century) and Kakuen,[95] from Enchin's lineage. Although from the beginning the official doctrinal debate on Mount Hiei was overshadowed by political jostling between Ennin and Enchin's lineages, Ryōgen tried his best to make this doctrinal debate a catalyst to reduce the inter-factional tension by choosing attendants from Enchin's lineage.[96]

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[94]It is not clear why the first doctrinal debate was canceled. Hirabayashi Moritoku suspected that Bōsan was still disgruntled at Ryōgen's appointment to Enryakuji abbot. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 106-107.

[95]Although the imperial court appointed only one respondent a year for *kōgaku ryūgi*, a second respondent, Kakuen, was specially appointed for the seat which was not filled the previous year. (*TZK* 43) Tendai Zasuki's identification of Kakuen is, however, problematic, because according to the dates of the *Sōgō bunin*, Kakuen (1030-1098) is not able to attend the first *kōgaku ryūgi* in 976. (*SBN* 37-38)

[96]This doctrinal debate was not purely an academic pursuit. The administrator of the Tendai school gave proper recognition to the scholars who successfully completed the *kōgaku ryūgi* by promoting them to higher positions in the clerical community. The imperial court also promised future promotion to the office of superintending clergy. Expertise in Tendai doctrine became a tool for the administrators within the Tendai school. A historical record of Onjōji

Concurrent with the promotion of Tendai studies, Ryōgen renewed the identity of the Tendai clerical community by reinforcing the strict rules of conduct for priests and revitalizing lecture meetings and other communal services traditionally held on Mount Hiei. In 967, about a year after the fire at Tōtō, Ryōgen posted on all major buildings a critique of priestly misconduct and an injunction for them to follow the orders of his administration.[97] The details of each individual document are not known, except in two instances, one on Jōgyōdō at Tōtō and the other the eastern and western entrances to Mount Hiei. At Jōgyōdō he condemned those Tendai priests who broke the dress code by wearing luxurious robes during services and those who constantly disturbed communal services and even harassed priests with weapons. At both entrances to Mount Hiei Ryōgen posted signs banning patrons from smuggling food baskets (*warigo*) containing foods and liquor prohibited to priests.[98]

Ryōgen's orders were, however, not heeded by everyone. In order to restore order on Mount Hiei, he issued *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō* (henceforth *TRK*), a tract of twenty-six articles in the seventh month of 970.[99]

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notes that priests of Ennin's lineage were embarrassed that their representatives were not chosen to this historic first official doctrinal debate. As Ryōgen planned, this official debate was eventually dominated by Ryōgen's disciples trained at Yokawa. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 107, and *Onjōji denki*, in Dainihon Bukkyō zensho, vol 127 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1912), 66.

97Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 97. See also, *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*, articles 14, 16 and 18.

98Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 97. See also, *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*, articles 14, 16, and 18.

99The Invocation was issued about three months after the newly reconstructed Sōjiin was accidentally burned down again in the fourth month of 970. The fire at Sōjiin must have been an major set back for Ryōgen's administration. Ryōgen planned to hold *sharie* service in spring after its completion. The reconstruction of Sōjiin was a priority. Hirabayashi Moritoku

Hori Daiji, a modern Japanese historian, has classified the twenty-six articles into four categories: (1) regulations on lecture meetings and doctrinal debates (articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 11); (2) regulations on communal services (articles 1, 8, 9, 10, 15, 23, 24, 25); (3) regulations on community rules (articles 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 16, 22, 26); and (4) regulations concerning the impeachment of priests for misconduct (articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 21). Half of the articles concerned the revitalization of the traditional communal services and doctrinal lectures and debates related to Tendai studies. At major religious services on Mount Hiei, Ryōgen required priests to focus on doctrinal lectures and religious rituals. Ryōgen prohibited unnecessary private receptions at *sharie, minazukie, ango* (rainy season retreat, *vārsika* in Sanskrit), and *shimotsukie* (the assembly on the eleventh month).[100] Attendance at communal services promoted renewed allegiance to the Tendai school. In the Invocation, Ryōgen required all priests on Mount Hiei to attend semi-monthly ceremonies confirming precepts (*fusatsu,* or *upavasata* in Sanskrit) and the semiannual services for the guardian deity of Mount Hiei (*sannō*).[101] Those who failed to attend these services would be subject to disciplinary measures, including expulsion from the order.

The twenty-six articles of the Invocation were partly original by Ryōgen and partly collected by him from other sources. Ryōgen wrote thirteen articles

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surmised that Ryōgen issued the invocation because he felt he must take immediate action to restore order on Mount Hiei so as to prevent other such accidents. Ryōgen's determination to rebuild Sōjiin was demonstrated by the fact that the first article of the Invocation concerns the *sharie* at Sōjiin. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 113-114.

[100]See *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō,* articles 1-5.

[101]Ibid., article 23.

by himself (articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 15, 18, 19, 21, 23). For the remainder of the articles, he selectively reinstated the rules of conduct for Tendai priests introduced or inspired by Saichō and Ennin.[102] Hori Daiji has identified these sources as Saichō's *Sange gakushōshiki* (regulations for students on Mount Hiei), *Yuikai* (Saichō's dying instructions), *Enryakuji kinseishiki* (regulations for the clerical community at Enryakuji), which were recorded by his disciple Ninchū (ca 8th-9th centuries), Ennin's *Shuryōgon'inshiki* (the regulations for the resident priests at Shuryōgon'in at Yokawa), and the *Kansei shijō*, the official regulations in four articles which were issued in 866 at the request of Anne, the fourth abbot of Enryakuji who succeeded Ennin.[103] In the Invocation, Ryōgen appealed to the ethical values of bodhisattva precepts by frequently quoting the *Brahma-net Sutra*, the most authoritative scripture for the Japanese Tendai system for priestly ordination established by Saichō.[104]

In the Invocation, he clearly articulated his determination to restore the institutional unity envisioned by Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai school, and Ennin, the founder of Yokawa.[105] Ryōgen's Invocation was, however, not merely an affirmation of Saichō's idealism. Ryōgen faced the violators of his order with severe punishments, including expulsion from the priestly order, or even the surrender of violators to secular

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102Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 113, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 14-21. See also "Sources of the *Invocations of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen*" in Appendices.

103Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 37.

104See *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*, articles 8, 9, 11, 19, 20.

105Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 113, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 14.

authority.[106] Ryōgen legitimatized his authority through the voices of Saichō and Ennin.[107]

Adaptation of the *Shuryōgon'inshiki*, in particular, was politically very significant.[108] Ennin wrote the rules of *Shuryōgon'inshiki* exclusively for the resident priests in Yokawa. By incorporating them into an ordinance for the entire Tendai community, Ryōgen enforced Ennin's lineage at Yokawa—specifically that of Ryōgen and his disciples—as the ruling power of the Tendai school.

While he was occupied with restoring Tōtō, Ryōgen also further revitalized Yokawa with the help of Fujiwara Morosuke's family. Ryōgen's political and financial fortune rose with the ascension of Crown Prince Norihira, Morosuke's grandson, to the throne. In 967 Norihira was crowned as Emperor Reizei (r. 967-969).[109] Ryōgen had been his guardian priest since his birth. In 968 Emperor Reizei donated monies to build Jōgyōzanmaidō (constant practice *samādhi* hall) to Ryōgon'in of Yokawa, thereby fulfilling the wishes of his late grandfather, Morosuke. The emperor provided funds to maintain fourteen resident priests to practice *jōgyō-zanmai* (constant practice

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106Ryōgen's determination was also supported by force of arms. Ryōgen had connections with Minamoto Mitsunaka (912-997), the chieftain of an influential warrior clan allied with the Fujiwara family. Genken (976-1020), one of Ryōgen's disciples, was a son of Mitsunaka. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 115-117, and *SBN* 110.

107Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 37, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 113-115.

108Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 32-34.

109Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 46.

[of *nembutsu*] *samādhi*). He also granted six additional resident priests to Hokkezanmaidō,[110] which was built by Morosuke to commemorate the birth of the crown prince in 954.[111] Emperor Reizei further granted the positions of *jūzenji* (ten meditation masters) and three annual ordinands to Ryōgonzanmai'in in response to the late emperor Murakami's wishes. Emperor Reizei sponsored the lecture meeting on the *Lotus Sūtra* at the annual memorial service for Morosuke at the Ryōgonzanmai'in in 969.[112]

Norihira's ascension to the throne also marked the resurgence of Morosuke's family in the imperial court which had been gradually consolidating their power. The eldest son, Koretada, was appointed Regent in 970.[113] The next year, Koretada sponsored a *hokke hakkō* (eight lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*) and officiated during the annual service for his father Morosuke at the Ryōgonzanmai'in. This lecture meeting became an annual commemorative service for Morosuke.[114] Although Koretada died in 972, Fujiwara Kanemichi, his younger brother, was appointed Regent,[115] political winds in the imperial court continuously favored Ryōgen. Kanemichi was also appointed a supervisor (*kengyō*) of Enryakuji in 972 which secured

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[110]Ibid., 47-48.

[111]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 47.

[112]See Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō),"47-48, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 108.

[113]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 46.

[114]Ibid., 48.

[115]Ibid., 48.

Ryōgen's position even further.[116]

Ryōgen had a clear objective in the development of Yokawa: the revival of the Tendai studies. He focused on training his disciples to be able to participate in the *kōgaku ryūgi*. In 967 Ryōgen introduced the seasonal lectures (*shikikō*) at his own residence hall Jōshinbō in Yokawa as soon as the official debate, *kōgaku ryūgi*, was approved by the imperial court. The lecture meetings featured the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* in the spring, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in the summer, the *Lotus Sūtra* in the fall, and in the winter, alternatively every year, either the *Daijikkyō* (*Mahāsannipāta Sūtra*) or the *Daibon[-hannya]-kyō* (*Mahā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*).[117] Ryōgen also started the semiannual doctrinal debate (*niki no ryūgi*) in the spring and summer at Jōshinbō to prepare his students for the annual official debate at the *hokke'e*.

In order to be eligible as a *ryūgi* (respondent) in the biannual debate at Jōshinbō, Ryōgen required his students to complete successfully the seasonal lectures. In addition he required the students to have several years of further training.[118] The compilation of the manuals for doctrinal debates perhaps started during this period under Ryōgen's guidance.[119] Ryōgen's emphasis on academic study at Yokawa was not entirely to advance Tendai doctrine; it was

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[116]Ibid., 48.

[117]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 53, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 91-92.

[118]Ryōgen allocated sufficient funds to operate these lecture meetings and doctrinal debates for his students. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 53; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 92; and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 91-92.

[119]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 22, and "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 36.

rather part of his plan to place the Tendai school under his control. Tōtō and Saitō did not establish a special academic program for the *kōgaku ryūgi*. But as a result of their preparation, Ryōgen's disciples dominated the doctrinal lectures and debates as well as the *kōgaku ryūgi*.[120] Because of their performance, Ryōgen, as the chief administrator of Mount Hiei, was able to promote his disciples over priests from the factions of Ennin's lineage.

Ryōgen skillfully used the study of Tendai doctrine to accomplish his institutional ambitions, and he invested his financial resources in doctrinal study at Yokawa priory. This investment eventuated, six years later, in his faction's monopoly of the doctrinal discourse on Mount Hiei. In order to be promoted academically or institutionally, ambitious students preferred to be admitted to Yokawa, which offered the best financial sources and opportunities. Those disciples trained by Ryōgen at Yokawa became the leading scholars of the Tendai school. During this period, Ryōgen successfully created an institutional system to legitimate his ambition without painful political fights.

A select group of disciples, a most significant factor, empowered Ryōgen's administration. At Yokawa, Ryōgen encouraged his disciples to study Tendai doctrine. By expanding and adding new facilities for Tendai studies at Yokawa, Ryōgen essentially turned Yokawa into a preparatory school for future administrators of the Tendai school. These students eventually determined the future course of Japanese Tendai. Among Ryōgen's direct disciples, five priests were appointed Tendai abbots, Jinzen

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120Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 36-37.

(nineteenth), Senga (twenty second), Kakukei (twenty third), Meikyū (twenty fifth), and Ingen (twenty sixth).[121] His disciples also included such renowned Tendai scholars as Kakuun (d. 1007), Kakuchō (d. 1034), and Genshin (942-1017).[122] (*SID* 88b-89a)

Through his skillful expansion of Yokawa, Ryōgen successfully took control over other sub-factions of Ennin's lineage. With an excellent academic program and ample funds, Ryōgen was able to recruit talented students from Ennin's lineage. Other masters of Ennin's lineage often entrusted their students to Ryōgen. As a result, Ryōgen was able to extend his influence over most of Ennin's lineage. For example, Senga, the twenty-second abbot, was a disciple of Kizō. Yōshō, the twenty-first abbot, and Kakukei, the twenty-third abbot, were Enshō's disciples. All studied under Ryōgen or became his disciples.[123] Many other students or disciples were promoted to positions in the office of superintending clergy or in major administrative posts at Tōtō and Saitō.

Ryōgen's influence also extended beyond Mount Hiei. Ryōgen took control of the administration of the temple at Tōnomine in Yamato province (present day Nara prefecture) by training its students, such as Shunsen, Zōkō, and Kakunin. Since some of his own disciples, like Nyokaku and Zōga, also joined Tōnomine, the temple (which was also the mausoleum of the Fujiwara family) was eventually incorporated under the administrative

121See *SBN* 185, 205-206, 41-42, 284 and 7-8.

122Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 180. See also, *SBN* 37, 52, and 111.

123Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen no *Nijūrokkajō kishō* seitei no igi," 37-38; and "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 24.

control of Yokawa.[124]

With Ryōgen's continual effort to develop Yokawa, the number of resident priests sharply increased. The priestly community at Yokawa grew to more than two hundred by 972. Ryōgon'in, now flanked with two *samādhi* halls, was renamed Ryōgonzanmai'in. Ryōgen was appointed its first supervisor (*kengyō*) in 968.[125] In order to handle the institutional management, Ryōgonzanmai'in added administrative facilities and staff, and began independently managing its own finances and affairs. When Ryōgen was appointed supervisor of Ryōgon'in, in 968, he established other significant administrative positions, such as *inshi* (head officer of temple), *bettō* (chief administrator), and *kōtō* (master of services).[126] In order to maintain high morale and camaraderie at Yokawa, a semi-monthly confirmation ceremony was held for all the residents at Yokawa independent of that at Tōtō and Saitō.[127] (*SJD* 828a, *DSD* 740b)

In 972 senior administrators of Ryōgonzanmai'in in Yokawa petitioned the abbot of Enryakuji, Ryōgen,[128] to have their own register of resident priests. According to the petition, the administrators at Yokawa were overwhelmed by the numbers of priests which resulted from their recent

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124Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 30.

125Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 106.

126Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 109, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 52.

127Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 53.

128Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 119; Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 53; and Murai Yasuhiko, "Tendai zasu Ryōgen to Yokawa no dokuritsu: *Tenroku sannen Ryōgonzanmai'in shoshige* ni tsuite," in *Dengyōdaishi to Tendaishū*, 229-236.

institutional development.[129] They were especially concerned about undocumented priests who took advantage of this situation to remain at Yokawa.[130] In order to control the order at Yokawa, the administrators requested an independent register of priests (*kichō*, semiannual register). Precedent for such independence lay in Saitō, who had obtained its administrative independence from Tōtō. Ryōgen, in obvious collaboration with the Yokawa administration, signed the petition without hesitation.[131] Since then, Enryakuji on Mount Hiei has officially been split into three independent administrative entities, Tōtō, Saitō, and Yokawa, thus establishing the three-pagoda system (*santōsei*).[132]

In summary, as soon as the political turmoil created by Fujiwara Morosuke's death settled, Ryōgen broke his silence and made a dramatic appearance at the Ōwa debate debate which took place at the imperial court in 963. By letting the Hossō school win, however, Ryōgen not only

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129Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 119.

130The real purpose of having an independent register was, however, not for the sake of security or convenience of the clerics. The advantage of having an independent registration was economic. Registration of priests at Yokawa had previously been handled either by Tōtō or Saitō. Together with the register of priests, Yokawa was able to receive a state stipend for two hundred registered priests and for the maintenance of the buildings which was allocated by the administration of Tōtō and Saitō. Murai Yasuhiko, "Tendai zasu Ryōgen to Yokawa no dokuritsu: *Tenroku sannen Ryōgonzanmai'in shoshige* ni tsuite," 233-234.

131Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 119.

132The independence of Yokawa was a major victory for Ryōgen. According to the Ennin's will, the administration of Yokawa was to be exclusively handled by his disciples who had residence quarters at Yokawa. Ryōgen and his disciples at Yokawa who continued to Ennin's lineage, monopolized the administration and funds applied to the area. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 52-54, and Murai Yasuhiko, "Tendai zasu Ryōgen to Yokawa no dokuritsu: *Tenroku sannen Ryōgonzanmai'in shoshige* ni tsuite," 229-236.

demonstrated his prowess as a leading Tendai scholar through his excellent debating performance, but also his political maturity which favorably impressed the major figures of the imperial court. Three years after the Ōwa debate, Ryōgen was promoted to be abbot of Enryakuji.

When Ryōgen became abbot, however, Mount Hiei was in disarray. Enryakuji was infested with errant priests, the institutional morale was undermined by factionalism, and the facilities were in disrepair. Three months after Ryōgen assumed the office of abbot, fire destroyed the major buildings in the Tōtō area of Enryakuji. Ryōgen remained serene and responded to the situation quickly and decisively. He immediately outlined a reconstruction project and mobilized his personal financial resources so well as those of his backers. In 972 after six years the reconstruction was completed, and Mount Hiei emerged larger and more prosperous than ever.

While the reconstruction of Tōtō was under way, Ryōgen also worked to improve the declining morale among priests on Mount Hiei. Ryōgen introduced an annual offical doctrinal debate, called *kōgaku ryūgi* at which Tendai scholars presented the Tendai doctrine as authoritatively as the Hossō school did its own. Success at the debate was rewarded with honors and with promotion to higher administrative offices. Concurrent with the promotion of Tendai studies was an effort to restore institutional discipline. In 970 Ryōgen issued *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō,* a tract of twenty-six articles, in which he clearly articulated his determination to restore institutional unity by revitalizing and reinstating doctrinal lectures, communal worship services, and the rules of conduct.

Through the reconstruction of Tōtō, the promotion of doctrinal studies

and the restoration of discipline, Ryōgen successfully institutionalized his vision of a Tendai clerical community. Ryōgen's institutional reformation, however, did not impartially reward every priest. Ryōgen clearly planned to streamline the administration of the Tendai school by promoting priests of Ennin's lineage, or more precisely, his disciples trained at Yokawa, by providing generous funding and expanded facilities which eventually became an independent entity within Enryakuji. During this period Yokawa grew into a large academic institution with more than two hundred students. Many of them eventually monopolized the administration of Mount Hiei.

CHAPTER IV

Fame and Controversy (972-985)

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, "Despot on Mount Hiei (972-981)," I will present an overview of Ryōgen's development of Mount Hiei and his achievements which made him a great archbishop (*daisōjō*), the highest position at the office of the superintending clergy. First, I will examine Ryōgen's dying instructions written in 972, in which he projected the future of Yokawa. Second, I will review the further development of Enryakuji undertaken by Ryōgen and his other achievements as the chief administrator of the Tendai school during this period. Third, I will discuss Ryōgen's demonstration of his political prowess through which he secured his power on Mount Hiei and paved the way for seamless transition of power to Jinzen as the *de facto* successor of Ryōgen.

In the second section, "Last Years and Legacy," I will discuss Ryōgen's last years (981-985) and his legacy. I will first examine the eruption of factional conflicts between the priests of Ennin's lineage and those of Enchin's lineage over the position of abbot at Hosshōji which broke out between 981 and 982 on Mount Hiei. I will then discuss Ryōgen's death in 985 and the ensuing

factional friction between Ennin and Enchin's lineages which eventually forced the latter out of Mount Hiei. Lastly, I will briefly assess Ryōgen's legacy in light of the popular worship of Ryōgen which subsequently arose and continues to this day.

1. Despot on Mount Hiei (972-981)

Shortly after Ryōgen celebrated the reconstruction of major buildings at Tōtō in 972, he fell seriously ill. Preparing for the worst, Ryōgen hurriedly addressed his dying instructions to his disciples while sick in bed. The tract, later called the *Tendai zasu Ryōgen yuigō* (henceforth *TRY*), outlined how he wished the temple and his estates should be managed after his death.

According to the original manuscript preserved in Rozanji in Kyoto, Ryōgen composed the document in about two weeks, between the third and sixteenth day of the month. After examining the document, modern scholars have concluded Ryōgen's penmanship is often sloppy and obviously written in a hurry, which reflects what he believed to be his last days.[1] Because he was facing death as chief administrator of the Tendai school, Ryōgen was well aware of his responsibilities and the institutional impact of his dying instructions upon his disciples. In order to prevent tampering, Ryōgen cautiously recorded the number of sheets of paper he used and penned his

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[1]Fujimoto Bun'yū, "*Jie daishi goyuigō* kō," in *Ganzan Jie daishi no kenkyū*, 224-226, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, "Heian: Jie daishi jihitsu yuigō," in *Heian: Jie daishi jihitsu yuigō*, 73.

signature over the seam of the last two sheet of the scroll.[2] Ryōgen, however, left two blank sections for possible changes and additions.[3] It seems that, although he considered himself to be terminally ill, he also hoped for his survival.

In the dying instructions, Ryōgen carefully instructed his disciples on how to arrange his estate, belongings, funeral, and memorial services.[4] He was particularly sensitive about the treatment of his disciple, Jinzen, who had inherited considerable property throughout the country from Fujiwara Morosuke's family.[5] Ryōgen managed of these estates as Jinzen's master-priest, but at his demise, the estates would revert to Jinzen's control. Yokawa, which was still under development, needed the continuing support of Jinzen and the Fujiwara family. Ryōgen had been dependent upon the political support of Morosuke's family, the most powerful family in the imperial court. In order to maintain the patronage of Morosuke's family, therefore, Ryōgen entrusted his residence and most of his belongings to Jinzen. The fact that Ryōgen placed great importance in Morosuke's family support is confirmed by his listing of his gifts to Jinzen in the opening passages of the

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[2]See a photo reproduction of the text in *Heian: Jie daishi jihitsu yuigō*, 6-8 and 70-72.

[3]Ibid., 6-8, 50 and 61.

[4]In the letter, Ryōgen directed 1) how to manage temples and estates which were under his administration, 2) how to divide his personal belongings, particularly his library and implements for esoteric practices, and 3) how to officiate his funeral service and following memorial services. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 120-121, and "Heian, Jie daishi jihitsu yuigō," 74. See also Fujimoto Bun'yū, "*Jie daishi goyuigō* kō," 219, and Asukai Shuntatsu, "Jie daishi goyuigō ni tsuite," 42-47.

[5]Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kenkyū," 221. See also a map, "Manors owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," and a "List of Manors inherited by Jinzen," in Appendices.

letter. (*TRY* 441a) At the very end of the letter, Ryōgen confirmed the position of Jinzen as the next superintendent of Yokawa, and required all his disciples to pledge loyalty to Jinzen in order to prevent a power struggle.[6] (*TRY* 448a)

In choosing Jinzen as his successor, Ryōgen disregarded seniority for the sake of financial security and political viability of Yokawa. Jinzen was twenty-nine years old and only fifteen years had passed since his ordination. He had completed his twelve-year residence requirement only two years earlier.[7] Ryōgen's decision was, however, a realistic choice for the welfare of his disciples. Yokawa was virtually run by the revenues from Jinzen's private estates which he inherited from Fujiwara Morosuke. Without Jinzen, Yokawa could not maintain its institutional foundation and would certainly decline, as had happened after Ennin, the founder of Yokawa, died. Not wanting to repeat the same mistake, in his dying instructions Ryōgen entrusted his residence and most of his estates and belongings to Jinzen and assured the Morosuke's family that administrative power at Yokawa would be transferred to Jinzen, who was the largest estate holder on Mount Hiei.

Ryōgen was, however, astute enough to provide his other senior disciples with a substantial portion of his estates, thereby reducing the friction from the transference of the administration of Yokawa. Those senior disciples who were selected by Ryōgen were Jōan (924-998), Senga (914-998), Shōku (909-998), and Anjin (?-998). They were all Ryōgen's trusted disciples who eventually became members of the office of the superintending clergy and

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[6]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 121.

[7]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen: Hieizan no chūkō to kizokuka," 251.

were promoted to higher administrative positions on Mount Hiei. Among them, the brothers Shōku and Senga already had the title of *ajari*.[8] (*TRY* 442a) Ryōgen, however, did not include his scholarly disciples, most notably Genshin (942-1017) and Kakuun (953-1007), in his dying instructions.[9] Ryōgen's exclusion of these bright scholar priests from his will seem odd. Hirabayashi Moritoku, however, concludes that the exclusion of the scholars did not imply that Ryōgen had belittled them. Rather, he wanted to enable these scholarly priests to concentrate on their academic pursuits by releasing them from routine administrative responsibilities, which often included land development and resolving boundary disputes.[10] Ryōgen consciously created divisions of labor among his disciples.

Ryōgen did not forget the significance of the development of doctrinal studies. In his instructions, Ryōgen emphasized that doctrinal debate was one of the most essential practices for a Tendai priest. He stressed that the *sūtra*

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[8]Jōan became an *ajari* of Gengyōji in 975. He became a member of the office of superintending clergy in 989. Anjin became a member of the office of superintending clergy in 988. He was appointed the head administrative officer of Sufukuji in Ōmi province. His highest title was as minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*) appointed in 998. Senga became an *ajari* at Gengyōji in 968. He became a member of the office of superintending clergy in 969. He became the twenty-second abbot of Enryakuji in 989. His highest rank in the office of superintending clergy was as archbishop of the lower rank (*gonsōjō*) appointed in 994. Shōku, Senga's older brother became an *ajari* of Enryakuji during the Tenroku era (970-973). He became a member of the office of superintending clergy in 979. His highest title was as great bishop (*daisōzu*), appointed in 998. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 126; and *SBN* 3, 193-194 , 196 and 205-206.

[9]Although among his major disciples they were relatively younger, Ryōgen assigned both priests to the same significant positions with other senior priests at the celebration of the completion of major buildings on Tōtō in 972. Genshin had already held a position of *naigubu jūzenji* (ten guardian priest for the emperor). In 973 he was appointed respondent at *kōgaku ryūgi*. Ryōgen, nevertheless, did not mention neither of them in his dying instructions. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 127, and Ishida Mizumaro, "Genshin," in *Shiragi no Jōdokyō; Kūya • Ryogen • Genshin • Ryōnin*, Jōdo Bukkyō no shisō, vol. 6. (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1992), 195.

[10]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 126-127 and 129-135.

lectures and doctrinal debates are not simply for intellectual pursuit or for the sake of spiritual growth. Ryōgen believed that doctrinal debate was a bodhisattva's practice through which priests who participate could produce and transfer merit to all sentient beings in this world and those in the afterlife. Consequently, the benefits were particularly great for patrons who supported the lecture meetings. (*TRY* 444a-b) In order to realize his wish, Ryōgen instructed his disciples to provide generous financial support for the academic study of Tendai doctrine and guarantee that his efforts to revitalize the study of the Tendai doctrine would not be neglected after he died.[11] (*TRY* 444a)

Although Ryōgen wrote his dying instructions, he survived his illness in 972 and lived to administer the Tendai school another thirteen years. After he returned to office, Ryōgen continued to improve the facilities on Mount Hiei.[12] Ryōgen's development plan consistently favored Ennin's lineage by selectively rebuilding and expanding buildings related to Ennin. At the same time, he reestablished communal services introduced by Ennin. In 979 Ryōgen repaired Jōgyōdō at Saitō and reinstituted the practice of *fudan*

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[11]Ryōgen provided funds from his estates to sponsor yearly *hokke hakkō*, lecture of the *Lotus Sūtra* at annual memorial services dedicated to his memory at Yokawa. The funds he provided for the service were over fifty *koku* (approximately 9020 liters, or 260 US bushels) of rice each year. This amount was equivalent of the *hokke hakkō* held at Kanzeonji in Tsukushi province (present day Fukuoka prefecture), one of the major state provincial temples. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 214-215.

[12]The buildings on the deep mountain needed constant maintenance. Some buildings were, however, left unrepaired during the reconstruction of the Tōtō area after fire in 966. For example, in 973, Ryōgen suddenly suspended the ongoing precept confirmation ceremony (*jukaishiki*) at the ordination platform on Enryakuji. Next day, the ceiling of the ordination hall (Kaidan'in) collapsed. Ryōgen's quick decision saved many from injury. (*SJD* 828a) Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 129-130.

nembutsu introduced by Ennin.[13] In 980 Ryōgen rebuilt Zentōin, the residence of Ennin at Tōtō. This building was destroyed by fire in 935 and subsequently abandoned.[14] Ryōgen built a library for Ennin's books at Zentōin and reinstated two communal services which had been introduced by Ennin, *Tendaidaishiku,* a memorial service in honor of Chih-i, the systematizer of Tendai doctrine in China, and *uchirongi,* an inner-palace style doctrinal debate.[15]

Ryōgen's largest development project after 972 was the renovation of Ichijōshikan'in, also known as Konponchūdō (central assembly hall), at Tōtō.[16] (*SID* 86b) The hall was the heart of the Enryakuji and was first established by Saichō. Ichijōshikan'in originally consisted of three separate buildings: Yakushidō (hall for Baiṣajyaguru Tathāgata) in the middle, flanked by Monjudō (hall for Mañjuśri bodhisattva) and Kyōzō (depository of sūtras). Previously, from 882 to 887 Enchin had remodeled Ichijōshikan'in by integrating the three buildings into one large assembly hall of nine *ken*[17] long, with four eaves and corridors around the hall.[18] The main assembly hall burned down in 935. Although the hall was rebuilt after the fire, it was only of makeshift structure construction, with short eaves and no outside

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[13]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 13.

[14]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 13. See also *TZK* 45.

[15]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 12. See also *TZK* 45, and *SDK* 159.

[16]Hirabayashi Moritoku, Ryōgen, 155-156. See also *EYK* 203-206; *TZK* 45; and *Chūdōkuyō ganmon,* in *Tendai kahyō,* part 3, vol. 2, 294-296.

[17]One *ken* is approximately six feet.

[18]Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi,* 102-103, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 156.

corridors around the hall. Ryōgen initiated the project in 978, completing it in 980. The new eleven *ken* long assembly hall was larger even than the original one built by Enchin. The eaves and corridors were restored, as well as the dining hall (Jikidō) adjacent to the hall.[19]

Ryōgen also put his energy into the development of Yokawa, the center of Ennin's lineage. Early in 975, Ryōgen completed the remodeling of the main assembly hall at Yokawa (Yokawachūdō).[20] (*SID* 85a-b) It was the first major renovation of the building in the hundred forty-six years since Ennin first built it. At the same time, Ryōgen rebuilt Hokkaibō, Ennin's residential quarter in Yokawa. Ryōgen also added several other buildings at Yokawa.[21] (*SID* 85a) Through these development projects at Yokawa, Ryōgen demonstrated his leadership within Ennin's lineage .[22]

Institutional ties between Ryōgen and Fujiwara Morosuke's family further expanded through the development of Yokawa. Two months after the completion of the reconstruction of the main assembly hall at Yokawa, Ryōgen invited Fujiwara Kanemichi (925-977), the Regent of the emperor and the second son of Morosuke, to a *sharie* (Assembly for the Buddha's Relics)

19Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 12. See also *TZK* 45, *SDK* 156 and 158-160.

20Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 137-138. See also *TZK* 44, and *EYK* 215.

21Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 138.

22To the main altar of Yokawachūdō, Ryōgen added a statue of Fudō, or Acaranātha, a messenger of Dainichi. Fudō, who holds a sword and a lasso in his hands, symbolizes the power to destroy evil passions and demons. He also initiated an annual service to commemorate the day of Ennin's death (*Jikaku daishiku*) at Yokawa on the fourteenth day in the first month in 976. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 132-133; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 137; and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 13. See also *TZK* 44.

which was held at the new main assembly hall.[23] In 976 Kanemichi sponsored a memorial service for his father Morosuke at Yokawa.[24] In the same year Kanemichi also made one of his sons, Nenzen (ca. 10th century), Ryōgen's disciple.[25] (*SID* 85b) The support of Morosuke's family continued after Kanemichi died in 977. The next year, in 978, Kanemichi's son Akiteru held a memorial service at Yokawa for his father. At that time, Akiteru and his mother donated several new statues and built a buddha shrine in remembrance of Kanemichi.[26] (*SID* 86a) In 979, Fujiwara Kaneie (929-990), a younger brother of Kanemichi, donated a temple named Eshin'in to Yokawa.[27]

While Ryōgen was caring for Fujiwara Morosuke's family at Yokawa, he did not forget to reach out to the lay communities, including nobles, commoners, men and women. In 977 for example, Ryōgen officiated at a *sharie* twice: once on Mount Hiei and once at Yoshidadera of Kaguraoka to east of Kyoto. The first *sharie* on Mount Hiei was held on the twenty-first day in the third month. Ryōgen commissioned a pair of seven-jewel towers that were placed on a decorated palanquin and installed new altar decorations for this special service. He also provided new robes for the forty celebrants of the

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[23]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 138.

[24]Ibid., 138-139.

[25]Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi,* 133.

[26]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 145-146.

[27]Although Kaneie and Kanemichi were political rivals, both were loyal supporters of Yokawa. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi,* 133; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 144-145; and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 24-25.

service. (*SID* 85b) More than three hundred fifty priests participated in this *sharie.* A number of guests from the imperial court were invited. Before the ceremony on Mount Hiei, Ryōgen also officiated at a rehearsal of the service, that was open to the general public, at Hie shrine at the foot of Mount Hiei. The practice service honored the mountain's deities and asked for the welfare of all people in the province. (*SID* 85b)

The second *sharie* was celebrated about a month later, on the twenty-first day in the fourth month at Yoshidadera. According to the *Jie daisōjō shūiden,* Ryōgen made a point to invite many noble women who were not able attend the service on Mount Hiei.[28] (*SID* 85b) He built a new assembly hall and several other buildings to the north of Yoshida shrine in order that the *sharie* be conducted in exactly the same format as followed on Mount Hiei. The relic was also brought into the inner palace for Emperor En'yū to venerate. (*SID* 85b)

Ryōgen also made efforts to aid the communities in Ōmi province where he grew up. In 978 Ryōgen held a commemorative service dedicated to Benzaiten (Sarasvatī), a goddess of wisdom, on Chikubushima island in Lake Biwa.[29] (*SID* 86b) In 979 Ryōgen officiated at a memorial service for his mother at her home temple, Daikichisanji, in Asai-gun.[30] He performed the one hundred day fire ritual and visited his parents' grave after the last day of

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[28]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 141-143.

[29]Ibid., 145-146.

[30]Ibid., 153-154.

the session.[31] (*SID* 86b) In the same year he officiated at the public lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra* for three days on the beach, Hosoehama, of Lake Biwa in Asai-gun. (*SID* 86b) In 980, Ryōgen officiated at a *fudan nembutsu* (continuous recitation of the name of Amida) for three days, again on the beach of Hosoehama. This time he invited senior citizens and presented them food and clothing.[32] (*SID* 86b)

Ryōgen sometimes used his political influence to provide practical benefits to the lay communities which supported the Tendai school. In 980 Ryōgen negotiated with the imperial court to grant residents of the nearby villages of Higashi Sakamoto, Mitsuhama and Nōka an exemption from corvee by virtue of their dedicated services to Enryakuji. (*SID* 86a-b) The area was geopolitically significant to the administration of Mount Hiei. The prosperity of the southwestern region of Ōmi province was key to the economic health of Mount Hiei in that priests on Mount Hiei depended on the region for fall necessities. [33]

The imperial court generously reward Ryōgen for these efforts. Ryōgen was promoted swiftly within the clerical hierarchy. In 974 Ryōgen advanced to great bishop of the lower rank (*gondaisōzu*).[34] The next year, in 975, he became great bishop (*daisōzu*).[35] In 977 he was made archbishop of the lower

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[31]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 154.

[32]Ibid., 154.

[33]Ibid., 148-149.

[34]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 136-137; and *SBN* 309.

[35]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 138; and *SBN* 310.

rank (*gonsōjō*) by virtue of successfully healing Kanemichi's illness.[36] In 979 Ryōgen became an archbishop (*sōjō*).[37] In 981 on the tenth day of the eighth month, Ryōgen participated in the five-platforms ritual (*godanhō*) at the imperial palace for Emperor En'yū (959-991). Because of he had successfully healed the ailing emperor, Ryōgen was allowed to ride on a hand-pulled cart (*rensha*, or *teguruma*) to the imperial palace.[38] On the thirtieth day of the eighth month, Ryōgen was granted the title of great archbishop (*daisōjō*), the highest rank of the office of the superintending clergy. He was only the second priest to ascend to this title, the first being Gyōki (668-749) in 745.[39]

After he completed the reconstruction of Tōtō, Ryōgen's administrative power expanded. With his political connections, Ryōgen had virtually a free hand in assigning his disciples to higher administrative positions of Enryakuji,[40] as illustrated by the special treatment extended to Jinzen. In 972 Jinzen was granted the special title of *isshin ajari* (one-life *ajari*) of Ryōgonin, the head temple of Yokawa. The position was so named because it was granted to an individual priest for life (*isshin*) and was not transferable

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36Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 143; and *SBN* 310.

37Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 152-153; and *SBN* 310.

38Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 163; and *SBN* 310.

39Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 163-164; and *SBN* 123 and 310. See also Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 66.

40In 978 Ryōgen appointed his senior disciple, Senga, to be head priest of Saitō. Since the abbot Ryōgen was also the supervisor of Yokawa, all three areas on Mount Hiei effectively fell directly under his command. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 145; and *Sōkan bunin*, in *Gunshōruijū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha, 1903), 572.

to another priest. This was a new title created by Ryōgen specifically for the advancement of Jinzen.[41]

The general title of *ajari* was significant because it qualified a priest for higher administration posts. Up to this time, *ajari* was a priestly position granted to specific temples, and not to an individual priest. Since the number of *ajari* positions were limited, a priest had to wait until the position was vacated by the death or retirement of the title holder. Jinzen, however, needed an *ajari* title to succeed Ryōgen at Yokawa, as promised in Ryōgen's dying instructions of 972. But as Jinzen was twenty-nine at the time, far too young to be eligible for an *ajari* position, Ryōgen negotiated with the imperial court to create a new type of *ajari* position to be granted to an individual priest rather than to a temple.[42] Ryōgen also recommended his disciples, Shōku and Kakukei as Enryakuji *ajari*, and Meigō as Jitokuji *ajari* in the same year. Their appointments were approved by the imperial court.[43]

Jinzen's swift promotion continued in 974, when Jinzen was appointed to become a member of the office of superintending clergy. The imperial court granted him the title of minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*).[44] This promotion was extraordinary, because Jinzen was only thirty-one years old and was allowed to skip the rank of *risshi* to enter the ranks of the office of

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41Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 128-29. See also *SBN* 185.

42Fujimoto Bun'yū, "*Jie daishi goyuigō* kō,"221. See also *Isshin ajari bunin shidai*, 101a.

43Hirabayashi Moritoku, Ryōgen, 129. See also *SBN* 41, 193, and 285.

44Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 136-137. See also *SBN* 185.

superintending clergy. In 976 Jinzen was appointed abbot of Hosshōji.[45] At the age of thirty-three, Jinzen had already satisfied the minimum qualifications to be a future Tendai abbot. Jinzen was granted the title of great bishop (*daisōzu*) in 979,[46] and became an archbishop of the lower rank (*gonsōjō*) in 981.[47] Among Tendai priests Jinzen held the highest rank in the office of the superintending clergy second only to Ryōgen, thus becoming a legitimate candidate for nineteenth abbot of Enryakuji at the age of thirty-nine.

Ryōgen also demonstrated his political clout outside the Tendai community. For example, in 974 Ryōgen acquired Kankeiji Kanshin'in, or more commonly Gion shrine (Gionsha), as an affiliate of the Tendai school from the Hossō temple of Kōfukuji.[48] The shrine was established at the request of Fujiwara Mototsune (836-891) for the welfare of the Fujiwara clan. This shrine was also a very popular site for *goryō'e* (soul appeasing ceremony). The Fujiwaras, however, traditionally entrusted the administration of the shrine to the Hossō priests from Kōfukuji.[49] Perhaps Ryōgen acquired the Gion shrine, which is located at the foot of Mount Hiei on the eastern edge of Kyoto, in order to expand Tendai's influence among the lay community. Because of the significance of its location, it was not likely

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45Jinzen, however, remained in office only one year. Chōyū (904-982), a disciple of the thirteenth abbot of Enryakuji, took over the position in 977. A power struggle is suggested behind these appointments. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 139 and 143-144. See also *SBN* 185.

46Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 152-153. See also *SBN* 185.

47Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 164. See also *SBN* 185.

48See *Nijūnisha chūshiki*, in Gunshoruijū, vol. 1, (Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha, 1904), 796-797. Other records, such as *Ichidai yōki* (975), or *Tendai Zasuki* (979), cite different years of this incidents. See *TZK* 44-45.

49Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa no fukkō (ge)," 29.

that Kōfukuji willingly handed over the shrine to Enryakuji. Certain records note that there were disturbances by armed priests from both sides until the imperial court intervened to approve the shrine's change of affiliation.[50] Ryōgen soon appointed his disciples as supervisors of the shrine.[51] With the annexation of Gion shrine, another important institution in the outskirts of Kyoto fell under the control of Ryōgen.

The arrangement of Ryōgen's power also further suppressed Enchin's lineage. For example, in 979, Ryōgen ordered that all 2700 registered resident priests on Mount Hiei attend the *jishusanshōsai* service (the festival for the three guardian gods of Mount Hiei). Seven hundred priests, however, failed to attend. Thus in accordance with the rule he installed in 970, Ryōgen withdrew their registrations and expelled them from Enryakuji. (*SJD* 828b) Needless to say, most of the seven hundred expelled priests belonged to Enchin's faction. This incident demonstrated Ryōgen's determined stance against clerical laxity. It, however, also showed that there were still a substantial number of priests of Enchin's lineage who opposed Ryōgen.[52]

Disregarding the rising tensions, Ryōgen put further pressure on the priests of Enchin's lineage. Ryōgen's policy against Enchin's lineage was sharply reflected in the roster of officiants for the opening dedication of the

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50Since historical accounts of this incident vary, it is not clear whether the decision to relinquish administration of Gion shrine was voluntary. The Tendai school may have flexed its political muscle. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 130-132, and Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi*, 130-132. See also *Konjaku monogatari*, in *Nihon kotenbungaku taikei*, vol. 26, (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1963), 289-292.

51Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa no fukkō (ge)," 29.

52Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 146-148, and Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi*, 132.

rebuilt Konponchūdō in 980. Ryōgen invited one hundred eighty priests, including forty-three clergy from the Six Nara Schools, and the ceremony was elaborately coordinated with music and dancing to entertain the many guests of the imperial court. Ryōgen deliberately assigned his own disciples, such as Jinzen, Jōan, Ingen (950-1028), Senga, and Genshin, as the major celebrants for the service,[53] while systematically excluding the priests of Enchin's lineage. Those of Enchin's lineage complained to the imperial court that because none of them were assigned to any of the major roles of the service the roster of the service was unfairly biased forward Ennin's lineage. Under pressure from the court, Ryōgen appointed Yokei as one of the leaders of celebrants and added six priests from Enchin's lineage.[54] Despite this slight conciliatory act, Ryōgen largely exercised his overwhelming power on Mount Hiei to the disadvantage of the priests of Enchin's lineage, thereby creating a rift between Ennin's and Enchin's lineage which would later break out into an open schism.

2. Last Years and Legacy

For fifteen years Ryōgen promoted priests of Ennin's lineage, who pledged loyalty to his administration. This policy, however, was only possible by the sacrifice of the priests of Enchin's lineage, who often challenged

[53]Hirabayashi Moritoku, Ryōgen, 155-161. For the list of attendants, see *EYK* 203-206.

[54]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 157. For the list of attendants, see *EYK* 206.

Ryōgen's policies. Excluded from the power structure, priests from Enchin's lineage became frustrated and resentful toward Ryōgen and his faction. The priests of Enchin's lineage, however, did not stand passively by watching their power erode.

Yokei, one of the leaders of Enchin's lineage, challenged the authority of Ryōgen and tried to recover his lineage's status. Yokei had been the head priest of Onjōji, the headquarters of Enchin's lineage, since 979. Also his patron Fujiwara Yoritada (923-989) was the eldest son of Fujiwara Saneyori and a political rival of Fujiwara Kaneie, a major benefactor of Ryōgen in the imperial court.[55] Moreover Yoritada had strong ties with emperor En'yū as his Regent in the imperial court. By using Yoritada's political connections, Yokei established his patronage with Emepror En'yū.[56] En'yū was crowned in 969 after his younger brother emperor Reizei, a patron of Ryōgen, had retired.

On the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month in 981, with the political backing of Emperor En'yū and Fujiwara Yoritada, Yokei was nominated abbot of Hosshōji by the imperial court.[57] Yokei's appointment was a direct challenge to Ryōgen's authority as the leader of Enchin's lineage. Hosshōji had been administrated exclusively by the priests of Ennin's lineage since it was found by Fujiwara Tadahira in 925. When Yokei's nomination

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[55]Fujiwara Yoritada belonged to the Ononomiya line of the Fujiwara Regent's family. The Ononomiya were arch-rivals of the Kujō line, to which Kaneie belonged. The Kujō's were traditionally patrons of Ennin's lineage; the Ononomiya's were major patrons of Enchin's lineage. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 28.

[56]For example, Kannon'in, which Yokei built at the foot of Mount Hiei, became a prayer-offering temple for Emperor En'yū. Yokei was also frequently invited to the imperial court to perform esoteric rituals for the emperor after he became abbot of Onjōji. Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 28, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 164-165.

[57]See *Fusōryakki*, 250, and *SBN* 293.

was announced, priests of Ennin's lineage immediately appealed to the court. They argued that the abbot of Hosshōji had always come from Ennin's lineage.[58] In order to demonstrate their disapproval, twenty-two higher ranking priests from Ennin's lineage, supported by one hundred sixty other priests, rallied in front of the residence of Fujiwara Yoritada. A minor scuffle occurred between the demonstrators and the guards of the residence of Yoritada.[59]

The imperial court, however, rejected the appeal of the priests of Ennin's lineage and sustained Yokei's nomination as abbot of Hosshōji. The court supported its decision by observing that, although the position of the abbot had traditionally been filled by Ennin's disciples, there was no evidence that the late lord Tadahira had exclusively assigned the position to them. Therefore, his lineage was no reason to revoke Yokei's nomination. The imperial court charged the twenty-five priests with conspiring to demonstrate, and with fomenting public disturbance and then suspended them from public service. The other one hundred sixty priests, who attended the demonstration, were also discharged from their positions in the public temples.[60] These sanctions, however, did not quell the protests from Ennin's lineage. They picketed Hosshōji and prevented Yokei from entering the temple for his inaugural ceremony. Yokei's scheme to take over a stronghold

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[58]See *Fusōryakki,* 250.

[59]Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 26-28, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 164-165. See also *Fusōryakki,* 250.

[60]*Jimon kōsōki* vol. 10, in *Zoku Gunsho ruijū,* vol 28 (Tokyo: Keizai zasshisha, 1904), 545.

of Ennin's lineage by political maneuvering backfired because he failed to foresee the solidarity and determination of his adversary. On the thirteenth day of the twelfth month, Yokei resigned as the head priest of Hosshōji without occupying the temple a single day.[61]

After this incident, tensions between two factions on Mount Hiei heightened. Yokei, together with several hundred of his disciples and allies, temporally evacuated their residences on Mount Hiei and settled at Kannon'in at Kita'iwakura in the northern suburbs of Kyoto. Other leaders of Enchin's lineage, such as Shōsan (938-1011), Kanshū (994?-1008), and Mokusan (943-1008), also left the mountain with their disciples for fear of retaliation from the priests of Ennin's lineage. About a hundred priests of Enchin's lineage remained at Senjuin to guard the library and other treasures of Enchin at Gotōin. They too soon left.[62]

Confrontation between the two factions continued over the next year. A gruesome rumor spread that Ryōgen had dispatched assassins to dispose of Yokei and the other leaders of Enchin's lineage and to destroy the temples in which they had sought refuge. Concerned, the imperial court dispatched the emperor's envoy (*chokushi*) to the abbot's office at Enryakuji in the first month of 982. The envoy ordered Ryōgen to secure the peace on Mount Hiei and to protect the treasures of Enchin. Ryōgen was also questioned about the rumor of his alleged assassination plot. Ryōgen promised to restore order, categorically denied the rumor and defended his disciples from allegations of

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61Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 165-168. See also *TZK* 46, and *Fusōryakki*.

62Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 166-167. See also *Fusōryakki*, and *Genkōshakusho*, in *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 101 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1912), 135.

wrongdoing over the incident at Hosshōji. Ryōgen countered by requesting the imperial court to interrogate the person who had levelled the charges. He, however, did not take any action to discipline his disciples or make any effort to ease the tension between the two factions. He excused for the conduct of his priests who had blocked Yokei from entering Hosshōji by explaining that they only had tried to maintain the dignity of Ennin's entire lineage in accordance with the tradition of the temple.[63]

The confrontation ended with a victory for Ryōgen. In 982 the imperial court appointed Shōsan, a disciple of Ryōgen, as abbot of Hosshōji.[64] (*SID* 87a) After the incident, in 983, Ryōgen tried to ameliorate his relationship with Yokei by inviting Yokei to be chief celebrant (*dōshi*) at the opening service of Eshin'in at Yokawa, which was donated by Fujiwara Kaneie.[65] Emperor En'yū also seemed to accept the gesture by Ryōgen. He invited Ryōgen and Jinzen to celebrate the opening dedication for his prayer-offering temple, En'yūji, in 983. The emperor also granted Ryōgen twenty ordinands.[66]

Though Ryōgen brought the factional dispute under control, he knew that the turmoil would erupt again in the near future. Ryōgen's health,

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63Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 167-168, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 27-28. See also *Fusōryakki*, 250-251.

64Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 168. See also *SBN* 186-187.

65The elaborate services at Eshin'in, which featured music and dance, was held on the twenty seventh day of the eleventh month in 983. A month before Kaneie also donated Yakushidō to Yokawa. The opening ceremony was held on the twenty fifth day of the tenth month. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 170. See also *EYK* 219-220.

66Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 170.

however, declined during 983 and he was unable to conduct daily services.[67] Ryōgen continued to strengthen his ties with Kaneie, the political rival of Yoritada, who was also a patron of Yokei. Ryōgen wanted to ensure that sure the next abbot would be his disciple, Jinzen, a younger brother of Kaneie. In 984, Ryōgen celebrated a service for the prosperity of Kaneie's family at Kazan Myōgōbō. During the service, Kaneie requested that his grandson, Kanehito, become crown prince in order to secure his position in the imperial court.[68] His wish soon came true. In the eighth month, Emperor En'yū retired and the Crown Prince Morosada ascended the throne as Emperor Kazan (968-1008, r. 984-986). Kanehito (Emperor Ichijō, 980-1011, r. 986-1011) was appointed Crown Prince. Kaneie, thus, secured his position as Regent of the next emperor. His brother Jinzen's appointment to the next abbot of Enryakuji was assured.[69]

Toward the end of 984 Ryōgen's physical health declined and he was unable to remain at his residence on Mount Hiei. The rigors of living in the mountains, apparently, were too harsh for his weakened condition. He left for Sakamoto Guhōji, located at the foot of the mountain. This time, Ryōgen

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[67]*Kongōkai nenjufu* in *Tendai kahyō*, part 2, vol. 3, 187-188. See also Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 171.

[68]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 173-174.

[69]Three years later, in 986, Kaneie plotted the forced retirement of Emperor Kazan with the help of Ryōgen's disciples. Emperor Kazan was depressed over losing his beloved consort Shishi. Kaneie schemed with his son, Michikane (961-995), and a priest, Gonkyū (943-1008), and persuaded the emperor to take tonsure at Myōgōbō in Gangyōji. Gonkyū was a disciple of Ryōgen. As a result, Crown Prince Kanehito became Emperor Ichijō, and his grandfather Kaneie became Regent. See Tsuchida Naoshige, *Ōchō no kizoku*, 56-61, and Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 174.

realized that he would not recover from the illness. According to the *Jie daisōjō den*, on new year's day, he called his close disciples to his sickbed. He preached that "all living things must die." (*SJD* 830a) On the third day of the first month in 985, in the hour of the rabbit (5-6 A.M.) Ryōgen, putting his palms together and facing west, vowed "With all the merits I have accumulated throughout my life, I wish to accomplish my enlightenment; I would also would like to transfer the remnants of the merit, which I have produced, to all living beings. After my life comes to an end, I wish to be born in [Amida's] Land of Ultimate Bliss." Ryōgen passed away reciting the name of Amida and contemplating ultimate truth (*jissō*). (*SJD* 830a) He was seventy-four. Witness reported observing clouds over Guhōji and Mount Hiei, a sure sign of his birth in the Pure Land.[70] (*SJD* 830a) Ryōgen's body was buried a site deep in the mountains at Yokawa, north of his residence at Jōshin'in in according with his will.[71] (*TRY* 447a)

The following month, on the twenty-seventh day of the second month, the imperial court appointed Jinzen the nineteenth abbot of Enryakuji.[72] Fujiwara Kaneie sponsored Ryōgen's memorial services. As requested in his dying instruction of 972, the lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra* were held at his memorial service.[73] (*TRY* 444a-b, *SID* 88a) This *sūtra* lecture has been held annually on Ryōgen's memorial day with the support of Morosuke's family.

70Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 175.

71Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 176. See also Kageyama Haruki, *Hieisanji*, 154-161.

72*TZK* 46-47; and *SBN* 185.

73Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 178.

It was later called "*ganzan'e*," the assembly on the third day of the new year. Ryōgen was also popularly called Ganzan-daishi (*ganzan*, the third day of the first month). In 987, Emperor Ichijō (980-1011, r. 986-1011) granted him a posthumous name "Jie ([a person of] compassion and wisdom)" on the request of Jinzen.[74] (*SJD* 831a)

Ryōgen's death was received with mixed feelings. He provocatively promoted the study of Tendai doctrine and enforced strict discipline on Mount Hiei. He also provided opportunities for numerous talented disciples, who became distinguished scholars and administrators. According to the *Jie daisōjō den*, many people criticized Ryōgen as an individual who was untroubled by saying one thing while doing another in order to accomplish his political agenda. After the funeral, Ryōgen's disciples discovered a scroll in Ryōgen's library, written in 949, the year Ryōgen joined Yokawa. Ryōgen predicted that he may have to act as if he were a priest who sought only fame and career advancement by defeating opponents of doctrinal debates. In addition Ryōgen wrote that he would not object if people were to mistake him as a power-hungry debating priest, because he was strongly convinced that doctrinal debate was the most fundamental method for spreading the true teaching of the Buddha. Therefore, though he might have to argue with others over the fine points of doctrinal interpretation, he prayed for the enlightenment of all through the merit accumulated together in these discussion of Dharma. Critics of Ryōgen, who learned of Ryōgen's motives,

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[74]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 179. See also *Shōyūki*, vol. 1, in *Dainihon kokiroku* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959), 120.

expressed deep regret for having misunderstood Ryōgen's true intention.[75] (*SJD* 380b)

The tension between Ennin's lineage and Enchin's lineage was publicly under control for a few years after Ryōgen died. Jinzen, a son of Fujiwara Morosuke, continued his control of the Tendai school as abbot of Enryakuji. He had the political support of Emperor Ichijō and his Regent, Fujiwara Kaneie. Jinzen, however, suddenly resigned in 989,[76] only five years after he assumed the position.[77] A decline in his health, perhaps, forced him to retire earlier than anyone had expected. Jinzen's death in 990 created an unexpected political vacuum within the administration of Enryakuji.[78] The priests of Enchin's lineage, led by Yokei, seized this opportunity to reclaim their status and the power struggle between the priests of Ennin and Enchin's lineages flared up again.[79]

The priests of Enchin's lineage successfully lobbied the imperial court to nominate their leader as the next abbot of Enryakuji. In 989 the imperial

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75Although the historicity of this story is not clear, it appears in Ryōgen's official biography. As the story indicates, many people, including his own disciples, were critical of Ryōgen. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 177-178.

76*TZK* 47, and *SBN* 185.

77Jinzen resigned from the position of Enryakuji abbot on twenty-eighth day in the ninth month in 989 and he died the next year on seventeenth day of the second month in 990. He was only forty-eight years old. See *TZK* 47, and *SBN* 185.

78Murayama Shūichi suspects that the heightened tension between Ennin and Enchin's factions made it impossible for Jinzen to administer Enryakuji properly. Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 144.

79Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 144-145.

court nominated Yokei the twentieth abbot of Enryakuji.[80] The priests of Ennin's lineage on Mount Hiei were, however, disgruntled at the appointment. They had not forgotten their bitter fight with Yokei over his appointment as abbot of Hosshōji. They defied the imperial court's nomination. Twice, on the first and fourth days of the tenth month, armed priests blocked the passage of the imperial envoy, who was accompanied by security guards (*kebiishi*) and prevented the delivery of the announcement from the imperial court. The imperial envoy was, however, able to reach the headquarters of Enryakuji on the twenty-ninth day of the tenth month on its their third attempt. Finally, the court announced Yokei as the twentieth abbot of Enryakuji.[81]

Although Yokei ascended to the abbot's position, the priests of Ennin's lineage controlled the administration of Enryakuji. They refused to cooperate. Yokei did not have the spiritual authority nor the practical skills to ameliorate the situation. He was unable to reach a compromise with the priests of Ennin's lineage. Three month after his appointment, Yokei resigned. He immediately left Mount Hiei and retired to Onjōji.[82] Two years

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80*TZK* 47-48, and *SBN* 294.

81This announcement was read in front of Zentōin, the memorial hall of Ennin, at Tōtō. Although the imperial court did not impeach anyone who forcibly blocked the passage of the envoy of emperor, Emperor Ichijō openly criticized the unlawful behavior of the priests of Ennin's lineage by referring to a passage in the *Brahma-net Sūtra*. These priests, "parasites in the body of a lion (*shishi shinchū no mushi*)," destroy the harmony of clerical community even though they were nurtured by the teaching of Buddha. The emperor lamented that Buddha Dharma began declining, not by outside force, but by the erosion of discipline. This announcement is called "Enso senmyō." Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 145-146, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō shi*, 138. For the passage in the *Brahma-net Sūtra*, see Taisho vol. 24, 1009b.

82Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 146.

later, Yokei passed away in 991.[83]

The imperial court appointed Yōshō (903-990), a priest from Ennin's lineage, the twenty-first abbot. He was not a direct disciple of Ryōgen. Ennin's and Enchin's factions were never able to reconcile. The final blow to the fractured relationship came in 993, when, in the seventh month, a small group of priests of Enchin's lineage attacked Sekisanzen'in at the foot of Mount Hiei and destroyed some treasures Ennin had enshrined in the temple.[84] Although representatives of Enchin's lineage later apologized, priests of Ennin's lineage had decided to use this incident to expel Enchin's lineage from Mount Hiei. Soon after the incident at Sekisanzen'in, a minor jostling between novices of the two factions was grossly exaggerated. The inflated version ignited the anger of priests of Ennin's lineage, who began attacking the priests and temples of Enchin's lineage on Mount Hiei. They destroyed and burned over forty temples and residences, including Senjuin and Rengein. Overpowered priests of Enchin's lineage had no choice but to withdraw from Mount Hiei. Enchin's library and treasures stored at Tōtō were removed to Onjōji.[85]

As a result, the Japanese Tendai school split into two branches *sanmon-ha* (mountain-gate branch), Ennin's lineage headquartered at Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, and *jimon-ha* (temple-gate branch), Enchin's

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[83] *TZK* 48, and *SBN* 294.

[84] Sekisanzen'in was founded by Ennin's disciples to commemorate Ennin's journey to China. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 89-90.

[85] The next year, on the fifth month, Sōjiin was destroyed by fire. Murayama Shūichi suspects arson by priests of Enchin's lineage. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 146.

lineage centered at Onjōji at the foot of Mount Hiei. Although the two branches shared the ordination platform at Enryakuji for their priestly ordinations, their relationship was strained. Since 1039, priests of *jimon-ha* had requested the imperial court to permit them to establish a separate ordination platform at Onjōji. The imperial court was unable to resolve the objections of the priest of Enryakuji, who insisted the Tendai school needed only one ordination platform.[86] By the early twelfth century, it had become customary for the priests of Onjōji to go to Tōdaiji for their ordination.[87] After Yokei, the imperial court nominated eight priests from Enchin's lineage as abbots of Enryakuji. Their appointments were, however, always blocked by the *sanmon-ha* priests and none actually assumed any responsibility. They all resigned from the position in less than in a week.[88]

The secession of Enchin's lineage from Enryakuji created great confusion within the Tendai clerical community. Violent confrontations between the two factions continued throughout the Heian period.[89] But, the fundamental institutional structure of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei, established

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[86]Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 148 and 150-151.

[87]Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura shinbukkyō no seiritus*, 154.

[88]They were Meison (1048, 29th, 3 days), Gensen (1053, 31st, 3 days), Kakuen (1077, 34th, 3days), Zōyo (1105, 39th, 2 days), Gyōson (1123, 44th, 6days), Kakuchū (1162, 50th, 3days), and Kōken (1190, 60th, 4 days). Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 148-149.

[89]For example, in 1074, during festivals at Hie shrine, priests of Enryakuji attacked Onjōji. Over 80% of the buildings at Onjōji were destroyed. Ōnjōji's priests attacked Enryakuji in retaliation. They, however, were pushed back, and Ōnjōji was looted again and almost completely burned. The rise of the power of Enryakuji also contrasted with the decline of the authority of the imperial court. The imperial court ordered both temples to convict the priests involved. The court order was neglected by both temples and only a few Onjōji priests were arrested. Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi*, 151.

by Ryōgen, remained intact and under the control of his disciples. These disciples provided academic and administrative leadership. For example, five of his direct disciples, Jinzen (20th), Senga (22nd), Kakukei (23rd), Myōku (25th, 945-1020), and Ingen (26th), became abbots of Enryakuji. Other disciples such as Myōgō, Kakuun, Shōkyū, Jitsuin, Gonkyū, Genshin and Kakuchō, became members of the office of superintending clergy.[90] Although they left Yokawa, Shōkū of Shoshazan and Zōga of Tōnomine were also Ryōgen's direct disciples.[91] During the eleventh century the power and prestige of Enryakuji reached its zenith.

The popularity of the academic study of Tendai doctrine continued to thrive after Ryōgen. During the late eleventh century, the Tendai school began administering three major official lecture meetings in Kyoto: *hokke'e* (1072) and *saishōe* (1082) at Enshūji, and *daijōe* at Hosshōji (1078). Three Great Lecture Meetings of the Northern Capital (*hokkyō sandaie*) came to be considered as prestigious as the three Great Lecture Meetings sponsored by the Six Nara schools.[92] The lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra*, parts of private and public memorial services which Ryōgen had promoted, became popular among the courtiers in the capital. Their popularity gradually spread to the provinces in the eleventh century.[93]

90*SBN* 37, 52, 111, 113, 138-139, 193-194 and 285-286.

91Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 180.

92The lecturers appointed to these events were automatically appointed to the office of superintending clergy. The appointment of Tendai clerics further expanded its power. Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū*, 148-153, and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 29.

93Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyō shi kenkyū*, 243-253.

As the power of Ennin's lineage at Enryakuji grew, the image of Ryōgen as a symbol of power and unifier of Ennin's linage also grew. At a private memorial service for Ryōgen held in 1030, forty-five years after Ryōgen had died, Keimei (964-1038), the twenty-seventh abbot of Enryakuji, lauded Ryōgen as an incarnation of Śākyamuni and Ennin. In his praise, Keimei also called Ryōgen Jie *daishi* (Great Master Jie), although the imperial court had never officially granted him the title of *daishi.*[94] (*SID* 88b) Toward the end of the Heian period, people commonly referred him as Jie *daishi,* or Ganzan *daishi.*[95]

Toward the end of the twelfth century, the authority of the imperial court declined and political power passed from the aristocracy to the warrior class. Enryakuji, however, survived this political turbulence and remained the most influential Buddhist institution of the Kamakura period. Ryōgen was transformed into a divine figure who protected Mount Hiei. Priests on Mount Hiei came to believe that Ryōgen's spirit remained on Mount Hiei, protecting the heritage of Ennin's lineage among the priests. They often carved statues or drew pictures of Ryōgen and enshrined them at the major buildings of Enryakuji as their guardian.[96] They believed Ryōgen to be a manifestation of the bodhisattva Kannon or an incarnation of the divine

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[94]Keimei's remark is, perhaps, the earliest reference to "*daishi,*" as associated with Ryōgen. See also Hirabayashi Moritoku, Ryōgen, 194.

[95]Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 195.

[96]For example, when strife between *gakushō* (scholar priests) and *dōshū* (practitioner priests) erupted on Mount Hiei in 1204, three wooden figures of Ryōgen were carved and enshrined in three Pagodas on Mount Hiei in the belief that they would put down the riot. In 1211 ten thousand copies of Ryōgen's images were printed and posted all over Mount Hiei to protect *gakushō* from the violent *dōshū.* Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 200-203.

guardian of Buddhism, Fudō (Acalanātha).

Ryōgen's detractors, especially priests at Onjōji, believed him to be demonic, an incarnation of the chieftain of the realm of devils (*makai no tōryō*), or a great king of devils (*daimaō*).[97] They identified Ryōgen with Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181), a leader of Taira family, a warrior clan which ousted the Fujiwaras from power in the *Heike monogatari*.[98] Ryōgen was also blamed for organizing priest-warriors (*sōhei*) at Enryakuji and for fortifying Mount Hiei so as to expand his influence over the imperial court.[99]

Whether spiritual or demonic, Ryōgen's image as a powerful leader had a great impact on people, eventually leading to the popular worship of Ryōgen as a miracle-worker. Those who worshipped his image whether printed or sculptured, believed that they would be protected from enemies, natural disasters, and even be cured of disease. Woodcuts of Ryōgen's image began circulating as popular talismans as early as the Kamakura period. Two types of images, *mamedaishi* (thirty-three small figures of Ryōgen with long left eye brow printed on one sheet of paper) and the *tsunodaishi* (a stylized Ryōgen with two horns on his head) became popular.[100] These woodcut figures were posted at the entrance gate or doors of houses to warn off evil

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[97]These accounts are appeared in *Taiheiki* and *Tengusōshi*. See also Ishida Mizumaro, "Ryōgen," 159.

[98]*Heike monogatari*, in *Nihon kotenbungaku taikei*, vol. 70 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten).

[99]Allegations that Ryōgen organized a cadre of armed priest-warriors (*sōhei*) were advanced by the historians of the Mito school of Neo-Confucian studies (Mitogaku) in the *Dai Nihon shi* which they edited during the Edo period (1603-1867). The earliest documents to identify Ryōgen as the initiator of priest-warriors are from the Muromachi period (1334-1560). See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 133-135.

[100]For these figures, see figures "*Mamedaishi*" and "*Tsunodaishi*" in Appendices.

spirits.[101] They are still popularly used as talismans even today, and are the subject of miraculous stories of the faithful.

In conclusion, Ryōgen's vision of administrative reform extended beyond his lifetime through the vehicle of his dying instructions in 972. In the instructions, Ryōgen ensured that his administrative power would be smoothly transferred to Jinzen, a son of Fujiwara Morosuke, so that his disciples at Yokawa could enjoy the continued patronage of Morosuke's family. Ryōgen also carefully distributed substantial portions of his personal assets for communal activities, such as lecture meetings in keeping with his desire to promote doctrinal studies. Yet he did not die at that time, and after he recovered from his illness, he put his vision into practice during the next thirteen years as an abbot of Enryakuji.

Ryōgen's administrative responsibilities and power in the Tendai school rose steadily from 972. In 978 all administrative control of Mount Hiei came under Ryōgen's sway through the appointment of his senior disciple, Senga, to the top post at Saitō. Ryōgen's power was demonstrated in the annexation of Gion shrine from the Hossō school in 974. And in 979, he suspended seven hundred priests of Enchin's lineage on Mount Hiei who had proven to be recalcitrant vis à vis Ryōgen's orders. Ryōgen's efforts were generously acknowledged by the imperial court (i.e., the Fujiwaras) which swiftly promoted him within the clerical hierarchy. By 981 Ryōgen was a great archbishop, the highest rank within the office of superintending clergy.

101Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi,* 137-142. See also *Genkōshakusho,* 54.

Under Ryōgen's administration, the disciples within Ennin's lineage were tightly united. Their solidarity was domonstrated by their often violent confrontation against priests of Enchin's lineage. Within a few years after Ryōgen's death in 985, the power struggle between the factions of Ennin and Enchin flared up again, and in 989 Ennin's faction even refused the order of the imperial court which appointed Yokei as the twentieth abbot of Enryakuji. In 993 a major conflict between the two factions broke out on Mout Hiei. The priests of Enchin's lineage were overwhelmed by the power of Ennin's lineage, and were unable to maintain their position on Mount Hiei. They all abandoned their residences on Mount Hiei and regrouped at Onjōji at the foot of the mountain. This incident split the Japanese Tendai school.

Despite the secession of the priests of Enchin's lineage, however, the institutional integrity of Enryakuji and doctrinal authority of the Tendai school led by Ryōgen's disciples remained intact. The Japanese Tendai school outlived the decline of the aristocracy, survived the political turbulence during the rise of power of warrior class, and remained the most influential Buddhist institution during the Kamakura period. Among the priests of Ennin's lineage, Ryōgen's image became a symbol of unity and power, eventually transforming Ryōgen's spirit into the divine guardian of Mount Hiei who could destroy enemies, offer protection from curses and even prevent diseases.

PART THREE

Ryōgen's Vision of Japanese Tendai Buddhist Doctrine and Institution

CHAPTER V

Integration of Doctrine and Institution

This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first section, "Integration of Doctrine and Institution," I will discuss these three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas which were the doctrinal foundations of Ryōgen's institutional reform of the Japanese Tendai school: one vehicle, buddha-nature, and bodhisattva precepts. First I will briefly introduce each doctrinal idea, then I will examine their Tendai interpretation and contrast them with that of the countervailing Hossō school. I will particularly focus on the institutional significance of these doctrinal ideas with respect to the clerical and lay communities of the Tendai school.

In the second section, "Ryōgen's Strategy for Integrating Doctrine and Institution," I will analyze how Ryōgen overcame Tendai's organizational and administrative stagnation by skillfully incorporating politico-economical power with doctrinal ideas. I will particularly focused on Ryōgen's strategy for adopting the three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas of one vehicle, buddha-nature, and bodhisattva precepts as the norms for his institutional reform.

In the third section, "Tendai Renaissance during the Heian Period," I

will examine the influence of Ryōgen's reforms among the Tendai clerical community and lay followers. Ryōgen successfully incorporated the Tendai views on buddha-nature, one vehicle, and bodhisattva precepts in his institutional reformation of the Japanese Tendai school. Ryōgen's revival of Tendai studies also raised the authority of the Tendai school in the eyes of the public. It furthermore provided practical doctrinal norms which all member of the Tendai community could follow. I will especially focus on the revival of Tendai studies and the concurrent development of popular Tendai worship both among nobles and commoners.

1. Three Fundamentals of Tendai Doctrine

In order to stimulate reform, Ryōgen focused on three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas: one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts, the most fundamental doctrines of the Japanese Tendai school. The idea of "one vehicle" is the most fundamental teaching expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra,* upon which Tendai doctrine is established. According to the *Lotus Sūtra,* Śākyamuni revealed three different ways to reach enlightenment, viz., *pratyekabuddha-yāna* (the way of the self-enlightened person), *śrāvaka-yāna* (the way of the hearer of the voice of the enlightened one), and *bodhisattva-yāna* (the way of the aspirant of buddhahood).[1] The way of the

[1]In the introductory chapter of the *sūtra*, Śākyamuni classified the teachings of Buddhism into three types by referring to the instruction of a Buddha called Candrasūryapradīpa (Sun-and-Moon-Glow): "For the sake of those who sought to be voice-hearers (*śrāvaka*), his [Candrasūryapradīpa's] preaching corresponded to the dharma of the four truths, with which to cross over birth, old age, sickness, and death into ultimate nirvāṇa.

pratyekabuddha is for those who have neither heard the teaching of the Buddha nor are members of the Buddhist community. *Pratyekabuddha*, like Śākyamuni, have realized the doctrine of interdependence by themselves.[2] The way of the *śrāvaka* is for the Buddha's immediate disciples and for those who heard the teaching of the Buddha from these immediate disciples. The goal of the *śrāvaka* is to become an *arhat* (one who completely eliminates all human ignorance).[3] The way of the bodhisattva is for those who make vows to reach enlightenment for the sake of the salvation of all sentient beings.[4]

The *sūtra* continues that although the Buddha seemed to teach three different paths, in reality there exists only one path to reach buddhahood (*eka-buddha-yāna*; *ichibutsujō* in Japanese, or simply *buddha-yāna*; *butsujō* in

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For the sake of those who sought to be *pratyekabuddhas* [self-enlightened ones], his preaching corresponded to the dharma of the twelve causes and conditions. For the sake of the bodhisattvas, his preaching corresponded to the six *pāramitās* [perfection], with which he caused them to gain anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhi and to perfect the knowledge of all modes." (Leon Hurvitz, translator, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, [New York: Columbia University Press, 1976], 13.) For further definitions of these terms in the *Lotus Sūtra*, see Leon Hurvitz, "Preface," *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, xviii-xix.

[2]In the *Lotus Sūtra*, Śākyamuni defines the followers of the *pratyekabuddha* path as practitioners who "earnestly striving and seeking the knowledge which is so of itself (*anācāryakaṃ jñānam*), desire the quietude which is content with its own goodness (*damaśamatham ākāṅkṣamānāḥ*), and are deeply aware of the causes and conditions of the dharmas (*hetupratyayānubodhāya*), these are called [Those Who Mount] the Vehicle of the Pratyekabuddhas." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 63.)

[3]In the *Lotus Sūtra*, the followers of the *śrāvaka* path are defined as practitioners who "earnestly striving and wishing to leave the three worlds, seek nirvāṇa for themselves; these are named [Those Who Mount] the Vehicle of the Voice-Hearers." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 62-63.)

[4]In the *Lotus Sūtra*, the followers of the bodhisattva path are defined as practitioners who "vigorously practicing and striving, seek All-Knowledge, Buddha-Knowledge, the knowledge which is so of itself, knowledge without a teacher, the knowledge and insight of the Thus Come One, his strengths, and his fearlessness; who mercifully recalling and comforting incalculable living beings and benefitting gods and men, convey all to deliverance; these are named [Those Who Mount] the Great Vehicle. It is because the bodhisattvas seek this Vehicle that they are named Mahāsattvas [great beings]." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 62-63.)

Japanese). This is the teaching of Mahāyāna (great vehicle; *daijō* in Japanese). Although Śākyamuni introduced the *pratyekabuddha-yāna* and *śrāvaka-yāna* as skillful means (*upāya; hōben* in Japanese) to encourage the spiritually immature people to enter the path of Buddhism, these paths did not exist in reality. There is only one vehicle (*ekayāna, ichijō* in Japanese) to enlightenment for all sentient beings.[5]

The *Lotus Sūtra*'s usage of one vehicle ferries a strong polemical emphasis.[6] In the *sūtra* the practitioners of the non-Mahāyāna paths are criticized as followers of the smaller vehicles or lesser vehicle (*hīnayāna, shōjō* in Japanese); their immediate concern is personal salvation alone.[7]

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[5]In the *Lotus Sūtra*, Śākyamuni declared to his disciple Śāriputra that "The Buddhas, the Thus Come Ones, teach the bodhisattvas merely that whatever they do is for one purpose, namely, to demonstrate and make intelligible the Buddha's knowledge and insight to the beings. Śāriputra, the Thus Come One by resort to the One Buddha Vehicle alone preaches the Dharma to the beings. There are no other vehicles, whether two or three. Śāriputra,the dharmas of the Buddhas in all ten directions are also of this sort. Śāriputra, the Buddhas of the past by resort to incalculable and numberless devices and to various means, parables, and phrases proclaimed the dharmas to the beings. These dharmas were all directed toward the One Buddha Vehicle. These beings, hearing the Dharma from the Buddhas, all attain thoroughly to knowledge of all modes (*sarvākārajñatā*)." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 30.)

The parable of the burning house relates the idea of one vehicle and skillful means. A rich merchant saves his three sons, who were unaware that they were trapped in the burning house, by improvising a story that he had a goat cart (*śrāvaka-yāna*), a deer cart (*pratyekabuddha-yāna*), and a ox cart (*bodhisattva-yāna*) for them. When all the three come out safely, the merchant give them instead one great white ox cart of Mahāyāna. See Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 58-64.

[6]Jamie Hubbard in his recently published paper discusses the polemical nature of the *Lotus Sūtra* in the context of religious dialogue. See Jamie Hubbard, "Buddhist-Buddhist Dialogue? The *Lotus Sutra* and the Polemic of Accommodation," *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, 15 (1995): 119-136.

[7]Therefore Śākyamuni maintains in the *sūtra* that "Within the Buddha-lands of the ten directions, there is the Dharma of only One Vehicle. There are not two, nor are there yet three, save where the Buddha, preaching by resort to expedients and by merely borrowing provisional names and words, draws the beings to him. In order to preach Buddha-wisdom the Buddhas come into the world. Only this one cause is true, for the other two are unreal. To the very end he does not resort to the Lesser Vehicle to ferry the beings across." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 34.)

Śākyamuni urges the adherents of other vehicles to awaken to the truth that they are also on the same single path of the bodhisattva.[8] Although the adherents of the other two vehicles are not excluded from salvation, in the *Lotus Sutra* people who argue against its teaching are repeatedly cursed.[9]

According to the *sūtra,* Śākyamuni's teaching of the lesser two paths did not misguide his disciples but rather manifested his skillful means in their behalf.[10] Those who are pursuing the teachings of these two vehicles have yet to realize that they are all following the path of the bodhisattva.

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[8]In the *sūtra,* however, Śākyamuni's words were not convincing to all of his disciples. Five thousand of the disciples walked out as soon as he began preaching the *Lotus Sūtra*: "While he [Śākyamuni] was speaking these words, in the assembly bhikṣus, bhikṣuṇīs, upāsakās, and upāsikās to the number of five thousand straightaway rose from their seats and, doing obeisance to the Buddha, withdrew. For what reason? This group had deep and grave roots of sin and overweening pride, imagining themselves to have attained and to have borne witness to what in fact they had not. Having such faults as these, therefore, they did not stay. The World-Honored One, silent, did not restrain them." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* 29.) See also Jamie Hubbard, "Buddhist-Buddhist Dialogue? The *Lotus Sutra* and the Polemic of Accommodation," 125.

[9]Śākyamuni warns malingerers of the *Lotus Sūtra* at the end of the second chapter of the *sūtra* that "these men, at life's end, shall enter the Avīci hell, where they shall fulfill one kalpa. When the kalpa is ended, they shall be reborn there. In this way, spinning around throughout kalpas unnumbered, [and then] from hell emerging, they shall fall into the rank of beasts. If they are dogs or yeh-kan, their forms shall be hairless and emaciated, spotted and scabbed, ..." Śākyamuni continues that the curse of maligning the *Lotus Sūtra* will follow life after life, and in each life they shall be born into miserable conditions. He concludes, "of those who malign this scripture that, if I were to tell their punishments, even if I should exhaust a kalpa, I should not finish them." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* 77-81.) See also Jamie Hubbard, "Buddhist-Buddhist Dialogue? The *Lotus Sutra* and the Polemic of Accommodation," 125.

[10]At the conclusion of the parable of the burning house, Śākyamuni maintains that the teaching of three vehicles was not false but skillful means to guide unprepared sentient beings. Śākyamuni says, "Śāriputra, just as that great man, first having enticed his children with three carriages and having them given only one great carriage ... is yet not guilty of falsehood, just so in the same way is the Thus Come One free of falsehood, though he first preached the three vehicles in order to entice the beings, then conveyed them to deliverance by resort to only the One Great Vehicle. ... [The Buddha] is able to give the dharma of the Great Vehicle to all living beings; but they are not all able to accept it. Śāriputra, for these reasons be it known that the Buddhas, by resort to the power of expedient devices, divide the One Buddha Vehicle and speak of three." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* 64.)

They will eventually reach the ultimate goal of buddhahood by converting to the true one vehicle of Mahāyāna. The *sūtra* guarantees the possibility of salvation of all sentient beings will ultimately realize the truth of the one great vehicle in accordance with the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra.*[11]

In China, Chih-i (538-597) established the foundation of the Tendai school during the Sui dynasty by composing extensive exegetical works on the *Lotus Sūtra.*[12] In his commentaries, Chih-i maintained that the *Lotus Sūtra* reveals all of Śākyamuni's teaching. Śākyamuni, he argues, revealed only partial truths in the other scriptures as his skillful means to guide sentient being to the complete teaching expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra.*[13] Although

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[11]In the *sūtra*, the process of conversion to Mahāyāna is explained, for example, in the parable of the Prodigal Son in chapter four. According to Paul Williams' summation of this story, "A man's son has left home, wandered away, and fallen into dire poverty. Meanwhile his father's business by contrast has prospered in another city, and his father has become a very rich man. The son arrives one day at his father's house. While the son no longer recognizes his father or his new mansion, the father instantly recognizes his son and sends a servant to fetch him. The son, alas, is terrified. The father accordingly realizes that he must introduce him in gradual stages to the truth that he is the son of the father and heir to all this wealth. The father offers his son very menial and dirty work (attaining Arhatship!). He does the job well, and the father gradually promotes him. Eventually the father starts to treat him like a son. At long last the father, about to die, announces to all that this man really is his son and natural heir. The son is, of course, overjoyed." (Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism,* [London: Routledge, 1989], 149.) See also Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* 85-90.

[12]Chih-i's lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* and manual of Tendai's meditative practices were compiled posthumously by his disciple Kuan-ting (Kanjō, 561-632) into three volumes; *Fa-hua Wen-chū* (*Hokke-mongu*), *Fa-hua Hsüan-i* (*Hokke-genki*), and *Mo ho Chih kuan* (*Makashikan*). They are collectively called *sandaibu* (three great books) of the Tendai school.

[13]Chih-i created a developmental structure for the teachings of Śākyamuni based on the idea of one vehicle expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. Chih-i classified the teachings of Śākyamuni into five periods: 1. *kegonji* (period of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, when immediately after his enlightenment, Śākyamuni preached the *Kegon-kyō*, which directly revealed his experience of enlightenment; this teaching was, however, too profound for the disciples to understand; 2. *rokuonji* (period of the Deer Park) when, Śākyamuni then preached teachings of *Āgamas*; at this stage, Śākyamuni gave his disciples the temporary goal of arhatship so that they could follow spiritual and later the higher teachings of Mahāyāna; 3. *hōdōji* (period of Transformation), when, Śākyamuni began revealing the Mahāyāna teachings in such *sūtras* as *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra, Laṇkāvatāra Sūtra,* and *Śūraṅgamasamādhi Sūtra*) to win over the

Chih-i did not disregard the spiritual values expressed in other scriptures, his view of the one vehicle teaching gave it precedence. He understood that realization of one vehicle occurred only through the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Chih-i's Tendai view of one vehicle was challenged by other Chinese Mahāyāna Buddhist schools, especially by the Fa-hsiang (Hossō) scholars. The Fa-hsiang school entered China during the mid-seventh century.[14]

The Hossō scholars agreed that the bodhisattva path is the ultimate path to buddhahood. But they understood that the distinctions among the three paths to be real. The Hossō scholars argued that Śākyamuni revealed different practices which accorded with distinct spiritual capabilities of sentient beings, as classified by the teachings of the three vehicles of Buddhism. Sentient beings would attain enlightenment by taking the paths most suited to their own spiritual capabilities.[15] But there are also practitioners who are not pre-determined to take any of these three paths. Śākyamuni, therefore, taught the teaching of one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra* as a means to encourage spiritually capable practitioners to take the

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followers of non-Mahāyāna teachings; by listening to these sūtras, they could realize the immaturity of their spirituality; 4. *hannyaji* (period of the Perfection of Wisdom) when, Śākyamuni began revealing the Mahāyāna teaching of emptiness in a series of the *Prajñā-pāramitā sūtras*; 5. *hokke-nehanji* (period of the *Lotus* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*), this period is also called the period of opening and merging all previous teaching into one vehicle (*ichijō kaie*) during which Śākyamuni revealed the complete truth of his teaching which he had revealed partially in his previous teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra*, the latter of which is called the complete and perfect teaching of one vehicle (*ichijitsu enkyō*); in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, Śākyamuni summarized the essence of the *Lotus Sūtra* again. See Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendai-shū no tanjō to hattten," 22-24, and Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, 3rd edition (Bombay: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), 136-138.

[14]Ōchō Enichi, "Hokke-kyō wo meguru busshō ronsō," 28-32, and Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron Genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendai-shū no tanjō to hattten," 40.

[15]Takahashi Tomio, *Saichō to Tokuitsu, mōhitotsu no seitō Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1990), 110-111.

bodhisattva path. From the standpoint of the Hossō scholars, the idea of one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra* is likewise a provisional teaching.[16]

These diametrically-opposed interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra* created doctrinal disputes among Buddhist schools in China, Korea and Japan. The disputes, however, remained academic and did not become controversial institutional issues. Historically speaking, the institutional development of these two schools in China did not overlap. Tendai developed during the sixth century and Hossō emerged during the seventh century.[17]

In a sense, the controversy over the idea of one vehicle pivoted on a point of view, rather than right or wrong. Neither the Tendai nor Hossō scholars denied the scriptural value of any of the texts of their opponents. Although the interpretations of the Tendai and Hossō schools contradicted each other, their respective reasoning was grounded on their scriptural sources. Scholars of one school, however, maintained that the scriptural sources of the other conveyed only a provisional teaching.

In Japan, on the other hand, the introduction of the Tendai school occurred at a time when the Hossō school dominated the official Buddhist order with the support of the powerful Fujiwara family in the imperial court. The introduction of Tendai into Japan also reflected the political agenda of the emperor Kammu, who wanted to control the powerful clerical community led by the Hossō priests. Therefore, doctrinal disputes between

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16Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi*, (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1977), 197-199; and Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, 93-94.

17Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi*, 199.

the two schools easily translated into institutional discord.[18] Although Saichō and his disciples promoted the Tendai view of one vehicle, they had yet to overcome the doctrinal authority of the Hossō scholars.

The second of Ryōgen's three doctrinal elements, Buddha-nature, (Chinese *fo-shing,* Japanese *busshō*) refers to the belief of Mahāyāna Buddhists that all sentient beings are endowed with the qualities of the Buddha.[19] The notion of buddha-nature affirms the belief in the fundamental worth of each individual. While each being lives with defilements of hatred, anger, and ignorance, each, however, can become enlightened by virtue of this fundamental of buddha-nature.[20]

The English rendition of buddha-nature comes from the Sino-Japanese

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18Saichō's promotion of Tendai in eastern Japan was immediately challenged by a Hossō scholar, Tokuitsu, who oversaw the region. Takahashi Tomio, *Saichō to Tokuitsu,* 123-135. See also Etani Ryūkai, "Dengyō daishi wo chūshin to shita busshō ronsō ni tsuite," in *Dengyō daishi kenkyū,* 108-109, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyōshi,* 111-115.

19This view of the human mind is found in a number of early Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras,* the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra,* the *Avataṃsaka sūtra,* and the *Lotus Sūtra.* Among these texts, the chapter entitled "nature arising (*hsing-ch'i* in Chinese, *shōki* in Japanese)" in the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* probably directly contributed to the development of the idea of *tathāgata-garbha.* The "nature arising" chapter introduced the idea that wisdom equal to the Buddha's is contained in the mind of every sentient being. In a sense, the Buddha is a catalyst unlocking the sentient being's innate potential to attain enlightenment which is otherwise hidden by defilements. See, Saigusa Mitsuyoshi, *Bukkyō nyūmon,* (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1990), 169-170.

20The origin of this affirmative view of living beings is found in the general Buddhist belief that the original nature of a sentient being's mind is pure (*jishō-shōjō*). Although its nature is pure, the mind becomes unclear due to defilements. Almost unanimously Mahāyāna Buddhists upheld this view of the mind. The mind is originally pure and arises interdependently (*pratītyasamutpāda*) because the original nature of mind is empty of self-nature (*svabhāva*). Mahāyānists further emphasize that even an ordinary being whose mind is full of defilements (*kleśa*) has the potential to realize buddhahood. Fujita Masahiro, "Jishō shōjōshin wo megutte," in *Nyoraizō to Daijōkishinron,* Hirakawa Akira, ed. (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1990), 259-286, and Saigusa Mitsuyoshi, *Bukkyō nyūmon,* 169-170.

tradition.[21] In Sanskrit Buddhist texts the idea is most commonly expressed by the term "*tathāgata-garbha*." "*Tathāgata* (thus-gone, or thus-come)" is an epithet for a buddha.[22] "*Garbha*" has two meanings, embryo and womb. "*Tathāgata-garbha*" thus means a womb of a buddha, or an embryo of a buddha. As a metaphor, "*tathāgata-garbha*" means that all living beings innately contain (as symbolized by the womb) the essence of enlightenment (as symbolized by the embryo). The term also implies that the essence is hidden (in the womb) by defilements, and unseen (as the embryo in the womb) by the beings who possess it.[23]

Chinese translation of texts related to the *tathāgata-garbha* introduced the idea of buddha-nature. Although most of the major Indian works on the idea of *tathāgata-garbha* were introduced into China by the mid-sixth century "*fo-hsing* (*busshō*)" became preferred to "*tathāgata-garbha*" (Chinese, *ju-lai-ts'ang,* Japanese, *nyoraizō,* a storehouse of *tathāgata*) to express the idea of the innate potential to attain buddhahood. This occurred perhaps because the expression was adopted through the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra,* which was translated during the fifth century. This *sūtra,* which expounded the notion all sentient beings possess buddha-nature (*fo-hsing,* [*busshō*]), soon captured the

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[21]The Sanskrit equivalent of the term "*fo-hsing* (*busshō*)" is not clear. According to modern comparative philological studies, the term "*fo-hsing* (*busshō*)" is generally agreed to be a translation of the Sanskrit " *buddha-dhātu* (nature or cause of buddha)." This term is used synonymously with "*tathāgata-garbha* (womb or embryo of tathāgata)." See Sallie B. King, *Buddha Nature* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), 4-5, and 13-14.

[22]A Buddha is "thus gone (*tathā-gata*)" from saṃsāra to nirvāṇa, and "thus come (*tathā-āgata*)" from *nirvāṇa* to *saṃsāra* for the salvation of all sentient beings. Sallie B. King, *Buddha Nature*, 4.

[23]Sallie B. King, *Buddha Nature*, 4.

imagination of the Chinese Buddhists.[24]

Through exegetical elaboration Chih-i incorporated the idea of buddha-nature into one of the most essential doctrines of Tendai. The theoretical foundation of the idea of one vehicle is the idea of the universal possession of buddha-nature (Chinese, *i-ch'ieh chung-sheng hsi-yu fo-hsing,* Japanese, *issai shujō shitsuu busshō*), which is expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra.*[25] Chih-i argued that the teaching of one vehicle is the highest teaching because each existent in this phenomenal world equally embodies ultimate reality (Chinese, *chu-fa shih-hsiang,* Japanese, *shohō jissō*).[26] Phenomenality of the entire universe was manifested as well in each existence (Chinese, *san-ch'ien yüan-chü,* Japanese, *sanzen engu*)[27] and each existent in turn embodied buddha-nature (Chinese, *hsing-chü,* Japanese, *shōgu*).[28] Tendai scholars

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24Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi,* 92; Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy,* 132-133; Tokiwa Daijō, *Busshō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kokusho kankōkai, 1973), 16-18, 175-177; Saegusa Mitsuyoshi, *Bukkyō nyūmon,* 171-172; and Sallie B. King, *Buddha Nature,* 4.

25Tokiwa Daijō, *Busshō no kenkyū,* 201-206

26Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi,* 100-103, and Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy,* 143.

27*Sanzen* refers to three thousand modes of existence. According to the Tendai teaching, the universe have three thousand modes of existence; ten realms of beings (*jikkai*) i. e. hell, hungry spirits, animals, *asuras,* human, heavenly beings, *śrāvakas, pratyeka-buddhas,* bodhisattvas and buddhas; each of the ten realms contains all these ten realms as potential existences which makes a hundred realms (*hyakkai*); each of the hundred realms has ten aspects of suchness (*jūnyoze*), i.e. form, nature, substance, function, action, cause, condition, effect, retribution and ultimate non-differentiation of these nine aspects, which, in total, become on thousand modes of existence (*sennyō*). These thousand modes of existence are manifested in three different categories of realms (*sanseken*), the realm of sentient beings, the realm of non-sentient beings, and the realm of five aggregates (*goun*) of matter, perception, conception, volition and consciousness. Thus there are three thousand modes of existence. Tendai practitioners contemplate that these three thousand modes of existence are manifested in each mode of existence and in one thought moment of practitioners. Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy,* 143-147.

28Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy,* 143-147.

correlate the idea of buddha-nature in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtr*: with the teaching of one vehicle in the *Lotūs Sūtra*, both of which proclaim the possibility of universal enlightenment.[29] Chih-i considered the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* just as authoritative as the *Lotus Sūtra*. Through Chih-i's exegetical works, Tendai correlated the idea of buddha-nature the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* with the teaching of one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra*, both of which proclaim the availability of universal enlightenment.

Tendai scholars closely identify the idea of buddha-nature with the idea of one vehicle, thus generating a doctrinal issue with Hossō scholars. The Hossō scholars agreed with the universality of buddha-nature expounded in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. They, however, classified buddha-nature into two categories: "noumenal buddha-nature (Chinese, *li fo-hsing*, Japanese, *ribusshō*)" and "active buddha-nature (Chinese, *hsing fo-hsing*, Japanese, *gyōbusshō*)." They maintained that the buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings is only buddha-nature in its aspect as the noumenal principle. Realization of buddhahood, however, is determined by the spiritual capability and efforts of each sentient being, as found in its aspect of active buddha-nature.[30]

The most disputed issue between Tendai and Hossō scholars was whether there can be a being who does not aspire, but only has the potential to attain buddhahood. Hossō scholars argued that there are certain sentient

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[29]Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi*, 93, and 104; and Takakusu Junjirō, *Essentials of Buddhist Philosophy*, 140.

[30]Ōchō Enichi, "Hokke-kyō wo meguru busshō ronsō," 29-32; Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi*, 199-200; and Tokiwa Daijō, *Busshō no kenkyū*, 241-251.

beings who lack active buddha-nature (Chinese, *wu-hsing yu-ch'ing,* Japanese, *mushō ujō*) and are incapable of reaching any of the three levels of spiritual attainment. Tendai scholars disagreed, claiming that even those sentient beings who are classified as beings with severed roots of virtues, *icchantika,* (Chinese, *i-ch'an-t'i,* Japanese, *issendai*) are equally endowed with buddha-nature and that there are no differences between a bodhisattva and an *icchantika* with respect to their potential to attain buddhahood.[31]

In contrast to the controversy over the idea of one vehicle, which persisted among the scholars, the idea of buddha-nature had more relevance for lay followers and the clerics who served them. Since the idea of buddha-nature concerns all sentient beings, including non-believers, the doctrinal discussion on buddha-nature had an immediate impact on the activities of the Tendai priests in Japan, who began propagating their new teaching among predominantly Hossō followers.[32] Although evangelization by Tendai in the provincial areas was fairly successful, it was not an easy task to promote the egalitarian spiritual value of the Tendai teaching of salvation of all sentient beings among the aristocratic Fujiwara courtiers who made up the elite social stratum.[33]

In addition to the ideas of one-vehicle and buddha-nature, Ryōgen also emphasized the bodhisattva precepts. Bodhisattva precepts are rules of

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[31]Ōchō Enichi, "Hokke-kyō wo meguru busshō ronsō," 28-29; Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi,* 199-201; and Tokiwa Daijō, *Busshō no kenkyū,* 4-8.

[32]Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 150-189.

[33]Etani Ryūkai, "Dengyō daishi wo chūshin to shita busshō ronsō ni tsuite," 110-112.

conduct adopted by Mahāyāna practitioners based upon the ideal that the ultimate goal of Buddhism is not only to attain "enlightenment" for oneself, but to liberate other beings from the suffering of life and death. The fundamental principles of the bodhisattva precepts is summarized in the threefold pure precepts (Chinese, *san-chü ching-chieh,* Japanese, *sanjujōkai*): (1) avoid all evil acts; (2) do all good acts; (3) embrace and benefit all sentient beings.[34]

Many Mahāyāna *sūtras* and commentaries list various rules of conduct for the bodhisattva. In East Asia, the most popular are the ten major prohibitive precepts (Chinese, *shih-ch'ung chin-chieh,* Japanese, *jūjūkinkai*) and the forty-eight minor precepts (Chinese, *ssu-shih-pa ch'ing-chieh,* Japanese, *shijūhachi kyōkai*) presented in the *Brahma-net Sūtra.*[35] The ten major precepts are: (1) not to kill; (2) not to steal; (3) not to indulge in sensuous pleasure; (4) not to lie; (5) not to sell liquors; (6) not to speak of the faults of others; (7) not to praise oneself and abuse others; (8) not to be covetous; (9) not to become angry; (10) not to abuse the three treasures of Buddhism (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha). The forty-eight minor precepts list specific or minor deeds of misconduct inferred from the ten major precepts, such as not to drink alcohol, not to consume the five spices, and not

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[34]These fundamental principles of the bodhisattva precepts are found in Mahāyāna writings such as the *Bodhisattva bhūmi* (Taisho 30, 910b-c) or the *Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra* (Taisho 30, 511a). Paul Groner, *Saichō,* 218-219. See also Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi,* 77-78.

[35]Taisho 24, 1004b-1005a. See also Hirakawa Akira, *Indo•Chūgoku•Nihon Bukkyō tsūshi,* 77-78.

to possess weapons for killing.[36]

The most significant characteristic of the bodhisattva precepts lies in its moral implications for all Mahāyāna practitioners, including both cleric and lay (Chinese, *chen-su i-ch'üan,* Japanese, *shinzoku ikkan*).[37] The definition of each bodhisattva precept, therefore, often depends on the status of the recipient; for example, the third precept for clerics is to be read as "not to engage in sexual intercourse," but for the lay follower it prohibits only "illicit sexual misconduct." And the fifth precept exhorts the lay follower not to promote intoxicating drinks, since the clerics are prohibited from engaging in commercial activities.[38]

Essentially, however, the bodhisattva precepts promoted the bodhisattva ideal and served to cultivate the spiritual development of practitioners within the Mahāyāna community, including its lay followers. Because of their ambiguity, however, the monastic community did not consider them to be suitable for monastic ordination, thus establishing a difference between cleric and lay practitioners. Clerics maintained the

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[36]Taisho 24, 1005a-1009b. For the list of the forty-eight minor precepts, see also John Stevens, *The Marathon Monks of Mount Hiei* (London: Rider, 1988), 24-25.

[37]Hazama Jikō summarizes the characteristics of the bodhisattva precepts in the following way: they "include all aspects of the moral life and doing good, both for oneself and for others. This applies to both monastic and lay people. If a monastic keeps these precepts, they serve as bodhisattva precepts for a monastic; if a lay person keeps these precepts, they serve as bodhisattva precepts for a lay person. Originally the precepts prohibiting evil activity were considered in two categories, a partial observance for the laity and the full observance for monastics. There were other formal differences also, but the underlying principle for the precepts as a whole was the same for both monastic and lay people. Therefore the observance of even one part of these precepts, whether by monastic or lay person, man or woman, means participation in the way of the bodhisattva which leads ultimately to the supreme enlightenment of Buddhahood." (Hazama Jikō, "The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14, [1987]: 106-107.)

[38]Paul Groner, *Saichō,* 217.

traditional monastic precepts as the basis of monastic ordination within Mahāyāna monastic orders in India and China.[39]

In China, however, the buddhist community embraced the bodhisattva precepts, especially those prescribed in the *Brahma-net Sūtra*. Tendai clerics particularly acknowledged that observing the bodhisattva ideal in accordance with the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* is the ultimate precept (Chinese, *ti-i-i-chieh*, Japanese, *daiichigikai*). Based on this they promoted confirmation ceremonies for both clerics and the laity from the time of the founder Chih-i.[40] Later Tendai scholars, such as Chan-jan (711-782) and his disciple Ming-kuang (date not known), compiled manuals for the confirmation ceremony based on the bodhisattva precepts of the *Brahma-net Sūtra*. They considered the bodhisattva precepts the ultimate precepts which represented the ideals of the Tendai community. Ming-kuang even considered the *Brahma-net Sūtra* to be as authoritative as the *Lotus Sūtra*.[41]

In Japan, Saichō proposed a new system of priestly ordination based on

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39In order to clarify the difference between clerics and lay, the monastic precepts based on the *Ssu-fen-lü* (*Shibunritsu*) were maintained even within Mahāyāna monastic orders in India and China. The confirmation ceremony of bodhisattva precepts was conducted only as a supplement for monks. Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 217.

40Chih-i utilized the bodhisattva precepts as an important method to spread Tendai in China. "Chih-i conferred the bodhisattva precepts on monks and laymen throughout China. He also performed ordinations using the bodhisattva precepts for Emperor Hsien (r. 568-82) of the Ch'en Dynasty and Crown Prince Yang Kuang of the Sui Dynasty." (Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 220.)

41Paul Groner points out that Chan-jan considered the bodhisattva precepts not merely a supplement to the traditional monastic precepts but as the perfect precepts in accordance with the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Ming-kuang further developed his analysis which excluded the *Ssu fen lü* precepts from the bodhisattva precepts. Although neither of them rejected the established ordination ceremony based on the *Ssu fen lü*, they provided Saichō with the theoretical foundations to establish the Japanese Tendai school as a unique Mahāyāna order solely based on the bodhisattva precepts. Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 193-194, and 228-236.

the bodhisattva precepts by arguing that they are a set of disciplinary rules of conduct for Tendai priests, and that the bodhisattva precepts are independent of the precepts established by the non-Mahāyāna Buddhist clerics. In his proposal to the imperial court, he appealed to the universality of the bodhisattva precepts by calling them "precepts of the one vehicle" (Chinese, *i-ch'eng-chieh*, Japanese, *ichijōkai*)[42] or "buddha-nature precepts" (Chinese, *fo-hsing-chieh*, Japanese, *busshōkai*).[43]

Japanese Tendai's adoption of the bodhisattva precepts for the priestly ordination was unorthodox, even though the bodhisattva precepts were very popular among Mahāyāna buddhists and the ideas of the bodhisattva precepts are consistent with Tendai's belief in the buddha-nature of all beings. Like the ideas of one vehicle and buddha-nature, the Japanese Buddhist communities disputed the bodhisattva precepts as soon as Saichō proposed a new

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[42]The term *ichijōkai* appears in the opening verse of Saichō's *Kenkairon*. *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1. See Kotera Bun'ei, "Dengyō daishi no ichijōkai genryūkō," in *Dengyō daishi kenkyū*, 439-459.

[43]Shirato Waka points out that in the *Brahma-net Sūtra*, the bodhisattva precepts are identified with buddha-nature. The *sūtra* explains the bodhisattva precepts as follows. "These (precepts) are the fundamental source of all Buddhas, the fundamental source 本源 of all bodhisattvas, the seeds of the Buddha-nature 佛性種子. All sentient beings have Buddha nature. All things with consciousness, form, and mental activity, all sentient (beings) with mental activity, are all included within (the purview of) these Buddha-nature precepts 佛性戒 .... The fundamental source of precepts for all sentient beings is pure in itself 自性清浄." (Taisho 24, 1003c. Translation of the text of the *Brahma-net Sūtra* from Shirato Waka, "Inherent Enlightenment (*hongaku shisō*) and Saichō's Acceptance of the Bodhisattva Precepts," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14, [1987]: 115.) Based on statements in the *Brahma-net Sūtra*, "Saichō considered them to be the source from which all buddhas proceeded. Moreover they were based in the Buddha-nature which everyone possessed and thus were called the Busshōkai (Buddha-nature precepts). Everyone could and should follow these precepts. Holding the precepts made one a true disciple of the Buddha and allowed him to enter the ranks of the Buddhas." (Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 194. See also *Kenkairon*, in *Dengyō daishi zenshū* vol. 1, 618.)

ordination system for the Tendai school.[44] Although the doctrinal issue of the new ordination system remained unresolved during Saichō's lifetime, the imperial court approved Saichō's proposal a week after he died in 822.[45]

The opposition of the Six Nara Schools gradually receded as the institutional power of the Tendai school grew. The ideal of the bodhisattva precepts, however, had lost its spiritual authority in the Tendai school by Ryōgen's time. Attendance at the semi-monthly confirmation ceremonies had declined. (*TRK* 433b) Even ordination ceremonies at Enryakuji were often disrupted by unruly priests. (*TRK* 438a) Boundaries between the monastic and lay communities were often disregarded. (*TRK* 435a)

2. Ryōgen's Strategy for Integrating Doctrine and Institution

As an administrator of the Tendai school, Ryōgen began his institutional reform by focusing on the revival of Tendai studies. Instead of relying on his charisma, he envisioned a revival of Tendai studies that

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[44]Saichō criticized the ordination system of the Six Nara Schools, derived from the *Shibunritsu*, as an impure ceremony because it was based on non-Mahāyāna precepts. Administrators of the office of the superintending clergy, led by the Hossō scholars, however, strongly opposed Saichō's proposal by saying the bodhisattva precepts had never been used for priestly ordinations either in India or China. See Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 169-194 and 245-246.

[45]The primary concern of the imperial court was the laxity of monastic discipline and the degree to which priests were able to enforce the precepts by themselves. Saichō's proposal, which required twelve years of residency for all Tendai priests, may have induced the imperial court to give approval for the new ordination system. In order to avoid further complicating the situation, the imperial court separated these two ordination systems legally. Between 823 and 828, the imperial court issued edicts which prohibited novices of the Tendai school to receive ordination other than at the platform at Enryakuji, and in 877 it was prohibited the Six Nara Schools from receiving priestly ordination at Enryakuji. See Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 196, and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū*, 26.

involved both clerics and laity associated with the Tendai school. In order to accomplish his reforms, however, he had to overcome the dominance of the Hossō school in doctrinal studies which had prevailed since the Nara period. A particular concern was Tendai's view of the *Lotus Sūtra* and its interpretations of one vehicle and buddha-nature both of which had been given hostile reception by the Hossō scholars who regarded the *Lotus Sūtra* as only a provisional teaching of Śākyamuni.

Soon after Saichō introduced the Tendai school to Japan during the early eighth century, Hossō scholars questioned the validity of Tendai's interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Tokuitsu (781?-842?),[46] a renowned Hossō scholar in the eastern provinces, initiated the major doctrinal debates with Saichō.[47] Saichō repeatedly defended the Tendai treatment of one vehicle and buddha-nature until his death in 822.[48] Yet the mainstream Buddhist academy in the capital area viewed the exchanges between Saichō and Tokuitsu only as a regional dispute and did not seem to influence upon

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[46]Exact dates of Tokuitsu's birth and death have not been established. For a discussion of probable dates, see Takahashi Tomio, *Tokuitsu to Saichō,* 37-43.

[47]The ensuing heated exchanges on doctrinal issues were, perhaps, related to Saichō's ambitious project to propagate the Tendai school in the eastern regions of Japan. Saichō visited the eastern provinces in 817. Prior to this year, Tokuitsu had already published his critique of Tendai doctrine, the *Busshōshō,* in which he maintained that the *Lotus Sūtra* represented only the provisional teachings of Śākyamuni. Saichō published the *Shōgonjitsukyō* in 817 in which he defended Tendai's doctrinal positions. Saichō's visit to this area was most likely prompted by the request of his disciples in the eastern provinces who were not able to counter Tokuitsu's critique. See Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 158-161, and Takahashi Tomio, *Tokuitsu to Saichō,* 123-135.

[48]Saichō and Tokuitsu continued their exchanges for five years. According to Tendai documents, Saichō successfully refuted Tokuitsu with his publication of the *Hokke shūku* in 821 a year before his death. Tokuitsu, however, continued the debate with the publication of his critique in the *Chūhengikyōzan.* Modern scholars are not able to reconstruct their exchanges because Tokuitsu's works are lost and can only be partially reconstructed through Saichō's citations. See Tamura Kōyū, *Saichō,* 158-189; and Takahashi Tomio, *Tokuitsu to Saichō,* 137-173. For the works of Tokuitsu, see Tamura Kōyū, "Tokuitsu chosaku kō," in *Dengyō daishi kenkyū,* 781-804.

them.[49] After Saichō's death, relations with the Hossō stabilized, although doctrinal controversies between the two schools occasionally recurred.[50]

At the Ōwa debate in 963, Ryōgen broke with Tendai's defensive attitude. He openly challenged in the doctrinal authority of the Hossō school within the Japanese Buddhist academy at the imperial court.[51] Ryōgen was well aware that he would not be able to settle this centuries old doctrinal

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49Tendai documents always claim that Tokuitsu was nothing but a minor Hossō scholar from the countryside who repeatedly tried to blemish the reputation of the great scholar Saichō in the capital. Saichō, according to Tendai documents, always refuted this confused scholar easily. Takahashi Tomio points out that Saichō's attitude toward Tokuitsu in his writings was very defensive, and it is inconclusive whether Saichō refuted this young and bright scholar given only the Tendai side of the story. The Hossō scholars in Nara, however, did not seem to consider the doctrinal debates between Tokuitsu and Saichō very important, as indirectly demonstrated by their neglecting to preserve Tokuitsu's works within the Hossō school. The only remaining work of Tokuitsu is his critique of esoteric Buddhism, titled *Shingonshū miketsumon,* published sometime between 823-824. Kōjō (779-858), a disciple of Saichō, also recorded in his *Denjutsu isshinkai mon* a few incidents of informal doctrinal debate in which he was involved. Disputes in the eastern provinces also continued after Saichō's death. Anne (795-868), a disciple of Saichō, who became a Tendai lecturer in Dewa province, published *Minyu benwakushō* to respond to Hossō critics in the eastern provinces. Takahashi Tomio, *Tokuitsu to Saichō,* 123-135, and Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendaishū rongishi no kenkyū,* 77, and 99-101.

50In 850 Kōjō lectured on the *Lotus Sūtra* at the imperial court together with Sanron, Hossō, and Shingon scholars. Other disciples of Saichō such as Gishin (781-833), Enchō (771-837), Anne and Enchin lectured at the major lecture meetings hosted by the Six Nara Schools. Tendai documents record that these scholars made impressive presentations of Tendai doctrine, but there are no records saying that these scholars overturned Hossō's doctrinal authority in the Buddhist academy. To the contrary, Tendai scholars wanted to avoid unnecessary confrontation with Hossō scholars. For example, during the era of Tenchō (824-833), the imperial court requested each Buddhist school to present a summary of its doctrinal positions. Gishin, as abbot of Enryakuji, wrote, *Tendaihokkeshūgishū,* a summary of the Tendai doctrine. Compared to the works presented by other schools, such as Kūkai's magnum opus, the *Jūjūshinron* in ten volumes, Gishin's rather plain introductory text on Tendai doctrine in one volume seems to indicate that he was not so enthusiastic about writing confrontational apologetic works. Works presented by the Sanron school, *Daijōsanrondaigishū* (four volumes), and Hossō school, *Daijōhossōkenshinshō* (five volumes), openly criticize the doctrinal views of other schools focusing on the interpretation of buddha-nature and one vehicle. Gishin's attitude in his work, however, seems too humble as the first abbot of Enryakuji. Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendaishū rongishi no kenkyū,* 76-78, and 97-99; and *Nihongi ryaku,* in *Shintei zōho: Kokushi taikei,* vol. 10 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1929), 381.

51According to the *Ōwa shūron nikki,* Ryōgen carefully planned this debate with at least two years of preparation. See *OSK* 87a-b.

controversy easily; but he believed it was necessary to demonstrate the differences of the positions between the two schools in the public even though he was not certain of the outcome. At the Ōwa debate Ryōgen failed to displace the Hossō's position as the leader of the Six Nara School.[52] He nevertheless successfully demonstrated that there were fundamental doctrinal differences between the two schools in front of the emperor and major courtiers. One major difference Ryōgen pointed out was that the Tendai interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra* guaranteed unconditional salvation for all sentient beings, in contrast to the Hossō teaching offered only a limited promise of salvation.

Ryōgen's challenge generated heated and sophisticated doctrinal discussions that grabbed the attention of the courtiers, since both schools were heavily patronized by the imperial house and the Fujiwara family. Ryōgen's patron was the crown prince and the family of the late Fujiwara Morosuke, the most influential sub-branch within the Fujiwara family at the imperial court. In its turn, the Hossō school acted as the spiritual guardian for the entire Fujiwara clan. The courtiers could discern the doctrinal debates as the outward manifestation of the internal power struggle amongst the Fujiwaras. Whether or not he convinced the audience of Tendai's superior doctrinal position, by initiating the Ōwa debate, he did make unambiguous the distinctiveness of Tendai's unconditional and universal salvation.[53]

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52 At the Ōwa debate, Ryōgen did not actually plan to refute completely his opponent's counter arguments. *OSK* 87b.

53The political context behind the Ōwa debate is preserved in a legend recorded in the *Ainōshō*, compiled during the fifteenth century. According to the story, Chūsan won the doctrinal debate with the help of Kasuga myōjin, the family deity (*ujigami*) of the Fujiwara family. After the debate, the courtiers discovered that the drool of the ox pulling Ryōgen's cart

Ryōgen's one time publicity campaign for Tendai doctrine at the imperial court was not enough to maintain the momentum of his revival of Tendai studies. In order to make his promotion of the study of Tendai doctrine a lasting movement, he made efforts to institutionalize doctrinal study by initiating an annual official doctrinal debate, *kōgaku ryūgi,* at Enryakuji in 968.[54] Ryōgen's greatest accomplishment with respect to the installation of the official debate derived from imperial court, for the first time, granting Tendai priests the exclusive right to preside as judges with the highest authority at the doctrinal discussion at the debate. Institutionally the Tendai school secured its doctrinal independence, enabling it to present its positions without interference from the Hossō scholars.

The installation of the official debate satisfied the pride of the Tendai scholars, and provided them with practical merit. Since the imperial court recognized the Tendai debates as being of equal significance to the debates officiated by the Six Nara Schools, Tendai priests who participated in these debates were assured of future promotion to official priestly positions

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emanated a wonderful smell. The courtiers also noticed that the trace of the ox drool made a poem: "When I heard that even grass and trees will eventually attain buddhahood, how much more promising [the Tendai teaching] is for the being with a mind like me." This poem was believed to be a message sent by Sannō, the protector deity of Mount Hiei. Kasuga myōjin (representing the Hossō school and the Fujiwara family) won the debate in the court, but Sannō (representing the Tendai school and Morosuke's sub-branch) achieved greater popularity afterward. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 172-173; Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 131-132; Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendaishū rongishi no kenkyū,* 120; and *Ainōshō,* in Dainihon Bukkyō zensho, vol. 150 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1912), 399 Neil McMullin, however, reads the *Ainōshō* mistakenly in saying that "a voice suddenly emanated from the ox." (Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 131.)

[54]*Kōgaku ryūgi* was one of the ten articles which Ryōgen proposed to the imperial court in 966 soon after he became the Tendai *zasu.* Ryōgen's proposal was approved by the end of the year. The first annual *kōgaku ryūgi* was held during *minazuki'e,* the annual lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* in honor of the founder Saichō.

including the office of superintending clergy.[55] Successes in these doctrinal debates also promised swift promotions. The study of Tendai doctrine became more than just an academic pursuit and regained its institutional prestige, which in turn bolstered the morale and confidence of the Tendai scholars. Clerics had a clear incentive to indulge in study and to perform well in public.

Ryōgen believed that doctrinal debate was the fundamental method for spreading the true teaching of the Buddha. In 972 Ryōgen wrote in his *Dying Instructions* that doctrinal debate was the most virtuous bodhisattva practice for producing and transferring merit to all sentient beings.[56] In theory, the debate provided equal opportunity for advancement to all Tendai students, and qualified attendants to the official debate were selected competitively. Practically, however, Ryōgen deployed the official debate as an instrument for institution control. At Yokawa priory, Ryōgen trained selected disciples to become elite scholars and top administrators. He particularly emphasized

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[55]Although Tendai priests were appointed to the office of superintending clergy in growing numbers, their appointments were usually by virtue of their esoteric ritual services at the imperial court. Enryakuji's *kōgaku ryūgi* had equal authority as Kōfukuji's *kengaku ryūgi*. Successful completion of the *kōgaku ryūgi* was considered the first requirement toward the appointment to the office of superintending clergy which guaranteed priests lectureships at other major lecture meetings sponsored by the Tendai school. Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendaishū rongishi no kenkyū*, 113-114.

[56]In the *Dying Instructions,* Ryōgen instructed his disciples that, "The eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*] held during the annual memorial service should include doctrinal debates. Some people place a taboo on this. It is ridiculous to me. [Doctrinal debate] is the main practice of this ailing priest. In order to attain buddhahood, one should practice [debate]. [All] my disciples should understand this. If they appreciate my advice, they must practice lecture and debate. Other virtuous [practices] are not necessary. The virtue created by sponsoring the eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*] is transferred to all sentient beings and eliminates their evil passions, generates wisdom, and helps in attaining buddhahood swiftly. [The virtue of the lectures] is also transferred to the late lord [Fujiwara Morosuke] and will help him to escape the cycle of birth and death in the three realms and to attain the wondrous state of the one true [thusness]. [Virtue] will also be transferred to the spirit of this old priest." *TRY* 444a-b.

practical skills in doctrinal debates and *sūtra* lectures.[57]

In sum, Ryōgen's emphasized academic study at Yokawa to advance Tendai doctrine. In addition those trained in doctrinal debate, acquired greater advantage in advancing in new system. As a result, Ryōgen's disciples began to dominate the doctrinal lectures, debates, and *kōgaku ryūgi.* Based on their performance, Ryōgen, as the chief administrator of Mount Hiei, had the sanction to promote his disciples legitimately over priests of other factions.

While Ryōgen labored to reestablish Tendai studies within the clerical community through the institutionalization of doctrinal debates, he was also promoting the *Lotus Sūtra* lectures that had been gaining popularity among the courtiers since the early Heian period.[58] In particular Ryōgen advanced *hokke hakkō* (eight lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*), a series of lectures that were presented as part of the memorial service for deceased courtiers. By appropriating the existing custom of the memorial service, Ryōgen entrusted Tendai's authority on this *sūtra* which had been popular among people even before the Nara period.

57As soon as the imperial court approved the official debate, Ryōgen held doctrinal debates at his residence hall, Jōshinbō, in spring and summer. Thus Ryōgen prepared his students for the annual official debate at the *hokke'e*. He also instituted seasonal lectures at Jōshinbō to familiarize his disciple with debating methods. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 91-91.

58The origin of the *Lotus Sūtra* lecture itself is traced back to the sixth century Chinese priest, Hui-ming (Emyō). As soon as Buddhism was introduced to Japan, the *Lotus Sūtra* came to be identified as one of three scriptures for the welfare of the nation (*gokoku no sanbukyō*). Despite the scriptural authority of the *sūtra,* however, lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* did not began until the early Heian period. "While Prince Shōtoku 聖徳 lectured on the Lotus Sutra in 606, there is no further extant reference to lectures on this sutra for the following 140 years until 746 when Rōben 良弁, 685-773, organized an assembly on the Lotus Sutra, a *hokke-e* 法華会, at Tōdaiji 東大寺 beginning on the 16th day of the Third Month." (Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," *Monumenta Nipponica* 39 [1984]: 393-394.) See also Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 192-198.

The origin of *hokke hakkō* dates to 827. A Sanron priest, Gonzō (or Ginsō, d. 827), delivered a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* for the mother of his fellow practitioner, Eikō, at Iwabuchidera. It was believed that by delivering a lectures, Gonzō would be able to transfer merit toward the deceased (*tsuizen*). Other Buddhist institutions adopted the practice of the *hokke hakkō* for the sake of merit transference and the practice gradually became popular among the courtiers during the early Heian period.[59] The imperial family and the Heian courtiers began sponsoring private *hokke hakkō* memorial services by inviting eminent priests of Nara and Kyoto.[60]

During the Nara period, the *sūtra* was mostly recited for the welfare of the nation and the imperial family.[61] The introduction of the *hokke hakkō,* however, transformed public perception of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[62] The *sūtra* came to be also appreciated as providing merit for individual worshippers as well.[63]

59Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 200, 209-211, and Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," 394.

60Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 213.

61The imperial court received Buddhism essentially for the welfare of the nation and the imperial family. While the Buddhist institution was under state control, the official virtues of the *Lotus Sūtra* was also limited to these purposes, even though the *sūtra* did not expressly promise such benefits. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 196.

62As the privatization of Buddhist institutions increased, Buddhist priests obtained more freedom to promote Buddhist teachings to individual followers, encouraging priests like Gonzō to apply the teachings of the *Lotus Sūtra* for private uses. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 209-210.

63The *sūtra* promises great merit for individual worshippers. In the *sūtra,* Śākyamuni promises that he will confer the prophecy of attaining perfect enlightenment on a person who has heard "a single gāthā or a single phrase, devotes[d] to it [the *sūtra*] a single moment of rejoicing." Śākyamuni also professes, "if there is a man who shall revive and keep, read and recite, explain, or copy in writing a single gāthā of the Scripture of the Blossom of the Fine Dharma, or who shall look with veneration on a roll of this scripture as if it were the Buddha himself, or who shall make to it sundry offerings of flower perfume, necklaces, powdered incense, perfumed paste, burnt incense, silk canopies and banners, garments, or music, or who shall even join palms in reverent worship of it, O Medicine King, be it known that this man or

But as the founder of the Tendai school, Saichō did not subscribe to the practice of the *hokke hakkō* memorial services, and thus he put Tendai out of step with the other schools. Although the Tendai school observed its lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra* at such as semi-annual lecture meetings at Enryakuji, Saichō limited the purpose of lecture meetings specifically to the welfare of the nation and to the academic pursuit of Tendai scholars. Saichō's institutional vision to establish the Tendai school as the spiritual leader of the nation did not match the popular association of the *Lotus Sūtra* lecture meetings with privately sponsored memorial services for the dead.[64]

Because of Saichō's "purist" attitude, the Tendai school belatedly entered the popular *hokke hakkō* practice, which had been actively promoted by the priests of the Six Nara Schools.[65] Although the Tendai school began officiating at the *hokke hakkō* toward the late ninth century,[66] it remained a

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any other like him shall have already made offerings to ten myriads of millions of Buddhas in former time, and in those Buddhas' presence taken a great vow. ... These very men in an age yet to come shall without fail contrive to become Buddhas." (Leon Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma,* 174-175.)

64Takagi Yutaka points out that Saichō's refusal to associate Tendai's lecture meetings with private memorial services accounts for the fact that he officiated at the *hokke jikkō* (the ten lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*) and at the *hokke chōkō* (the extensive lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra*) at his Ichijōshikan'in on Mount Hiei, but not *hokke hakkō*. Saichō first officiated at the *hokke jikkō* in 798 at the memorial day of Chih-i. In 801 he invited ten scholars from Six Nara Schools to the *hokke jikkō* and discussed the different doctrinal views of the *sūtra*. In 809, Saichō officiated at the *hokke chōkō* on Śākyamuni's Nirvāṇa day for the welfare of the nation. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 203 and 212-213.

65See Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," 395-396, and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 213.

66Takagi Yutaka points out that one of the earliest recorded practices of the private *hokke hakkō* by a Tendai priest was held in 876 at Kazanji (or Gengyōji). The service sponsored by Abe Sadayuki (ca. 9th century) was officiated by Henjō (816-890). At the service Sadayuki also made a wish for his own well being in the afterlife. This service was also the earliest recorded practice of *gyakushū* (an advanced merit transference for the sponsors of the service). Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 179 and 214. See also Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," 404-405.

minor practice until Ryōgen introduced it for private memorial services at Yokawa during the mid-tenth century.

Ryōgen used his connection with Fujiwara Morosuke to incorporate the practice of the *hokke hakkō* into Tendai. In 954 and 955 Morosuke attended *hokke hakkō* held at Yokawa to pray for the prosperity of his family.[67] Morosuke even had one of his sons, Jinzen, become a Tendai priest at Yokawa in order to insure that the *hokke hakkō* practice would continue after Ryōgen died. As Morosuke wished, the practices of *hokke hakkō* for himself and his family continued after he died as an annual commemorative service.[68]

Ryōgen's development of *hokke hakkō* also benefitted Tendai priests. Members of the nobility and imperial house imitated Morosuke and began sponsoring *hokke hakkō* for their families and themselves. Tendai's close association with Morosuke's family, in a sense, gave credence to the efficacy of its practice of *hokke hakkō* services, since Morosuke's family eventually became the most influential in the Fujiwara lineage. As a result, Tendai priests had greater opportunities to attract patrons through the *hokke hakkō,* a practice which required dozens of priests to officiate.[69]

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[67]Through his connection with Morosuke, Ryōgen made efforts to expand his share of the *hokke hakkō* practices at the imperial court. In 955, Ryōgen was invited by the emperor Murakami to a *hokke hakkō* held at the imperial court. Morosuke, no doubt, used his influence to have Ryōgen invited. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 50-51.

[68]The emperor Reizei sponsored a *hokke hakkō* for Morosuke at Yokawa in 969. Morosuke's eldest son, Regent Koretada, sponsored a *hokke hakkō* for his father in 970. In 979, Fujiwara Kanemichi sponsored the seventeenth memorial service at Yokawa. Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 63, 138-139, and Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō),"47-48.

[69]Private *hokke hakkō,* which Takagi calls as *shike hakkō,* eventually became commonly observed by the courtiers during the late tenth century. These services also became an opportunity to demonstrate the power and prosperity of the family. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 215-216 and 223-231. See also Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus

Ryōgen also promoted the *Lotus Sūtra* lecture meetings for lay communities. In 979, he officiated at a *hokke daie,* an abridged version of the *hokke hakkō,* for three days on the beach of Hosoehama on Lake Biwa, in conjunction with a memorial service for his mother at his home town.[70] The practice of *hokke hakkō* for the lay community, called *kechien hakkō,* became popular during the late tenth century.[71] Ryōgen's disciples at Yokawa propagated this custom among commoners in the capital and provinces.[72] As a result of Ryōgen's efforts, Tendai succeeded in obtaining a larger share of the *hokke hakkō* services for the lay community, thus in turn created an institutional system that maintained a stable relationship with the laity and helped to promote Tendai views of the *Lotus Sūtra.*

Concurrent with the promotion of doctrinal debates and *Lotus Sūtra* lectures, Ryōgen made a special effort to reaffirm the ideal of bodhisattva

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Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," 401-404.

70Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen,* 154.

71The *Lotus Sūtra* lectures for the general public often included music and dancing in order to entice participation and so provide an opportunity for the laity to understand the fundamental ideas of Tendai teaching. One of the most popular *kechien hakkō* in Kyoto was the *kechien kuge'e,* officiated at Rokuharamitsuji which was founded by Kūya (or Kōya, d. 972). After Kūya died, the temple officially affiliated with the Tendai school. Although the practice of *hokke hakkō* might have originated with Kūya himself, the *hokke hakkō* became an annual public service after head priest Chōshin (d. ca 1005) made this temple a branch of Enryakuji. Ishida Mizumaro, "Kūya," in *Shiragi no Jōdokyō; Kūya • Ryogen • Genshin • Ryōnin,* 115-117. See also Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 243-253, and Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," 406-407.

72Yokawa also produced many popular preachers such as Gyōen (ca. 9th-10th centuries), also known as Yokawa's holy man in leather robe (*yokawa no kawahijiri*). He actively officiated at the public *hokke hakkō* at Gangyōji in Kyoto during the early tenth century. Tendai priests also performed the *hokke hakkō* practice outside of the capital city, such as at Kumano shrine in Kii province (present Wakayama prefecture). The semi-annual *kechien hakkō* at Kumano shrine began perhaps as early as the late tenth century. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokkebukkyōshi kenkyū,* 246-250, and Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures: *Hokke Hakkō* in the Heian Period," 407.

precepts within the Tendai community.[73] During the time of Ryōgen, Tendai priests became increasingly indifferent to the significance of the bodhisattva precepts. With the rising popularity of esoteric practices, Tendai priests came to believe that observing the bodhisattva precepts simply supplemented the spiritual power gained from esoteric rituals.[74] The priests also believed that, once they received and vowed to observe bodhisattva precepts, the spiritual essence of the precepts would never disappear (*ittoku yōfushitsu*). Some Tendai scholars even maintained that breaking the precepts would not abrogate the precepts (*kaitai*) if the transgression enacted skillful means to guide sentient beings.[75]

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[73]Ryōgen followed the efforts of his predecessors, Kōjō and Ennin, who made special efforts to clarify the institutional independence of the Japanese Tendai school by means of the ideal of bodhisattva precepts. Independence from the ordination system of the Six Nara Schools was achieved by Kōjō, a disciple of Saichō, who revised Saichō's compromising plan called "provisional Hīnayāna ordination (*keju shōkai*)" which required Tendai priests to received ordination with the priests of the Six Nara Schools after they completed their twelve years training at Enryakuji. Kōjō's request was approved sometime between 823–828. Ennin also defended the independence of the ordination platform at Enryakuji against the critique of the Six Nara Schools in his *Ken'yōdaikairon*, which was completed by Ennin's disciple Anne (795-868). In the text Ennin emphasized the disciplinary aspect of the bodhisattva precepts by focusing on the distinction between clerics and laity. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Chūsan shobō, 1963), 297-307 and 383-396; and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 292-303.

[74]The presence of esoteric elements in Japanese Tendai's view of the bodhisattva practice was first recognized by Kōjō who called bodhisattva precepts *isshinkai* (one-mind precepts) by quoting from an esoteric Buddhist commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra, Ta jih ching shu*(*Dainichikyō-sho*), by I-hsing (Ichigyō, 682-727) instead of using Saichō's terminology, *ichijōkai* (*ekayāna* precepts). Annen (841-889?), in his *Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku*, identified the virtue of receiving the bodhisattva precepts with the esoteric teaching of *sokushinjōbutsu* (immediate attainment of buddhahood). Annen maintained that the recipient of bodhisattva precepts immediately realized the presence of intrinsic buddha-nature (*myōji sokushin jōbutsu*). Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 361-371 and 404-417; and Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 294.

[75]Hazama Jikō explains the unique characteristics of the Japanese Tendai view of bodhisattva precepts: "The position of absolute equality revealed in the bodhisattva precepts also has an advantage in that it is not difficult to practice nor difficult to understand. It is easy to accept. These *ekayāna* precepts are based on the Lotus teaching of the unity of buddha and sentient beings, that all have the Buddha nature and are destined for Buddhahood. The Buddha nature which permeates all things, the fundamental goodness of all beings which is

The development of an elastic view of the bodhisattva precepts, however, altered the integrity of the Tendai clerical community. Priests gradually came to disregarded the disciplinary observance of the bodhisattva precepts. For example, all Tendai priests were required to attend *fusatsu,* semi-monthly ceremonies of confirmation of the precepts, during which they recited the *Brahma-net Sūtra* and repented any transgression they may have committed. Attendance at *fusatsu* at Enryakuji declined drastically, and even the priests in charge of officiating at the service often neglected their duties.[76]

Ryogen's emphasis on clerical observance of the bodhisattva precepts is clear in his *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō.* It was issued in 970 to rectify the disorder and misconduct of priests at Enryakuji. Ryōgen reminded the priests of the authority of the bodhisattva precepts by citing numerous passages from the *Brahma-net Sūtra.*[77]

Ryōgen also used the *fusatsu* ceremony to clarify the status of priestly registration. On Mount Hiei, all resident priests were required to attend a *fusatsu* ceremony. In the *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō,* Ryōgen required all resident priests on Mount Hiei to attend a *fusatsu* ceremony and practice its rituals. Priests who failed to attend the ceremony would be punished by

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their true nature and the realization of which is the eternal fruit of Buddhahood, is the basis for the bodhisattva precepts.... Once this is realized it is never lost , and one immediately gains the ultimate state of Buddhahood." (Hazama Jikō, "The Characteristics of Japanese Tendai," 108). See also, Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 408 and 431.

[76]Some priests refused to sign the letter of summons or just did not appear at the service. Even the attending priests did not know how to conduct the service properly. Ryōgen in his *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō* lamented, "Some disciples of Śākyamuni in recent years do not observe the precepts, do not study [the precepts], and do not attend the service [on *upavasata* (*fusatsu*)]. The great tradition of *upavasata* will soon become extinct [if the current situation continues]." See *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō,* article 8 and 9.

[77]See *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō,* article 8, 9, 11, 19, 20.

suspension from the monastic order for three years.[78] (*TRY* 433b) Ryōgen also initiated an independent *fusatsu* observation at Yokawa in 971, where he led *fusatsu* and trained his students.[79] (*DSD* 828a)

Besides restoring the clerical order, there was also a practical motive behind Ryōgen's emphasis on *fusatsu*. The bodhisattva precepts were not only the foundation for the clerical discipline of Japanese Tendai priests, but they were also promoted among lay followers. The universality of the ideal is consistent both for the monastery and for the lay followers (*shinzoku ikkan*). During Ryōgen's time, the confirmation ceremony of the bodhisattva precepts gained popularity among courtiers primarily as a means of healing.[80] *Jukai* for healing was originally performed as an introductory ritual to enhance the efficacy of subsequent esoteric rituals for healing.[81] The simplicity of the rituals and the initiant's positive engagement were attractive to lay followers. On the other hand, priests had to learn and maintain the bodhisattva precepts in order to be able to transmit the virtues of the precepts to the laity.[82] Therefore, *fusatsu* was a significant ritual for the Tendai priests' understanding of the ideal of the bodhisattva precepts. It also became a

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78See *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*, article 8.

79Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 117.

80 For the development of the performance of *jukai* as a healing ritual, see Ishida Mizumaro, "Heian chūki ni okeru zaike shinja no jukai seishin no tenkai," in *Nihon Bukkyō shisō kenkyū*, vol. 2 (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1986), 239-263.

81Ishida Mizumaro points out that one of the earliest cases of *jukai* performed in combination with esoteric healing rituals is recorded in 940 in Fujiwara Tadahira's *Teishinkōki*. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 423; and *Teishinkōki*, in *Zoku gunshoruijū*, vol. 5, 200 a.

82Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 422.

practical occasion for mastering rituals.

3. Tendai Renaissance during the Heian Period

Ryōgen's revival of the study of the Tendai doctrine gradually grew into a major driving force for the entire Tendai school, both academically and administratively. Under Ryōgen's administration, the study of Tendai doctrine, which was once a purely academic pursuit, developed into a opportune avenue for career advancement. Ryōgen's institutional reforms resulted not only in furthering philosophical understanding of doctrinal ideas, but also in enhancing practical skills, such as lecturing on the *Lotus Sūtra* and engaging in doctrinal debates, as essentials of clerical education.

Ryōgen's educational training immediate provided secular merit for his students. Ryōgen promoted his students within the Tendai hierarchy in accordance with their lecturing and debating skills. Over thirty of his direct disciples became leading academic and administrative figures, and of those five became abbots of Enryakuji who administered the complex for a total of over thirty years.[83] The dramatic increase in the number of Tendai priests in the office of superintending clergy during this period most visibly evidenced the school's ascendancy.[84] Tendai priests began occupying significant

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[83]They were *zasu gon daisōjō* Jinzen (presiding 985-986), *zasu gon sōjō* Senga (presiding 990-998), *zasu daisōjō* Kakukei (presiding 998-1014), *zasu gon sōjō* Myōku (presiding 1019-1020), *zasu sōjō* Ingen (presiding 1020-1028).

[84]Ogami Kanchū points out that Tendai priests filled half of the appointments at the office of superintending clergy for the first time in 980. Tendai's majority status in the office of superintending clergy was not overturned after that. Ogami Kanchū, "Jie daishi no Tendaishū

positions in the office which were previously controlled by Hossō priests.[85]

Ryōgen's emphasis on lecture and debating skills is evidenced by the publication of numerous manuals on debating techniques and strategies by Ryōgen and his disciples.[86] Many of them, however, have been lost, and the authenticity of the authorship of the remaining works are not clear. Some either may have been compiled by his disciples who heard his lectures, or may have been attributed to him at a later time. The authenticity of their authorship, however, does not devalue the significance of their sudden compilation toward the late Heian period. These collections of personal notes from the doctrinal debates or lectures of famous masters were not written for reading but primarily for memorizing and performing by their disciples. The increase in publication of these works reflects the rise of Tendai's doctrinal

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goji," 27-30. See also, Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 28-29.

85Ryōgen himself succeeded in breaking the institutional barrier of the superintending clergy system. In 965, two years after the Ōwa debate, Ryōgen was appointed a member of the office as *gonrisshi* (superintendent of the lower rank). Ryōgen was granted the title of *risshi* (superintendent) in 966. He was promoted to *gonshōsōzu* (minor bishop of the lower rank) in 968. And in 971, Ryōgen was appointed to *gonhōmu* (a vice president of the office). Ryōgen was promoted to *daisōjō*, the highest rank of priestly officer in 981. Ryōgen's major disciples were also promoted to high positions in the office. Seven of his direct disciples rose to the rank of bishop (*sōjō*). Jinzen attained *gon daisōjō*. Senga achieved *gon sōjō*. Kakukei and Myōgō became *daisōjō*. Myōku became *gon sōjō*, Ingen,*sōjō*, and Kakuun was granted the title of *zō sōjō* posthumously. Other disciples who became members of the office of superintending clergy were *daisōzu* Shōkyū, Jitsuin, and Gonkyū, *shōsōzu* Genshin and Kakuchō, *hōgen* Genken, *risshi* Keiyo, Jōan, Shine, and Anshin, *hokkyō* Kakukū and Raimei. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 180; Ogami Kanchū, "Jie daishi no Tendaishū goji," 17-34; and *SID* 88b-89a.

86Bibliographical records of the Tendai school list about a dozen texts under the authorship of Ryōgen. They are *Kuhon ōjōgi*, *Kuhon chūshaku*, *Hishōgi shiki*, *Chū hongakusan*, *Ken hokkegi*, *Shiyōki*, *Ketsugishū*, *Myōbetsugitsū shiki*, *Butsudogi shiki*, *Sankangi shiki*, *Gomigi shiki*, *Shichisyōgi shiki*, and *Jumyōkyōsho*. His disciples, such as Genshin, Kakuun, Kakuchō, Zōga, Jitsuin and Ankai, were also listed as the authors of a number of study manuals for doctrinal debate. For the works of Ryōgen's disciples related to doctrinal debate, see Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū*, 134-140.

study.[87]

Many of Ryōgen's disciples became renowned priests who were skilled in doctrinal debate and lecturing, and who became excellent teachers themselves, thus further expanding the influence of Tendai doctrine both in the clerical and lay communities. Among them Genshin, Kakuun, Kakuchō and Jinzen, are considered the four major disciples[88] who had the greatest impact on the academic and institutional development of Japanese Tendai during the late Heian period.[89] Their disciples continued to develop Tendai studies throughout the late Heian period.[90]

Ryōgen's revival of Tendai studies also restored balance to the

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87For the records of the major doctrinal debates among Ryōgen's major disciples, see Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū*, 131-133.

88The most academically distinguished disciple among them was perhaps Genshin whose publications covered wide areas of Buddhist studies. Among them, the *Ichijō yōketsu* (Essence of the teaching of one-vehicle) published in 1006 was one of the most significant contributions to the Heian Buddhist academy. In the *Ichijō yōketsu,* he summarized the centuries old doctrinal debates with the Hossō scholars on one vehicle and buddha-nature and clearly presented the Tendai views on these issues. With the publication of Genshin's work, the Tendai school was, at last, able to call an end to its doctrinal dispute with the Hossō school, which had begun at the Ōwa debate forty-three years before. Since the publication of *Ichijō yōketsu,* the doctrinal debate between the two schools has never been put to rest. For the study of *Ichijō yōketsu,* see the introduction of the *Ichijōyōketsu,* Butten kōza vol. 33, Ōkubo Ryōjun ed. (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1990), 31-50. See also Takahashi Tomio, *Tokuitsu to Saichō,* 161-173. For the text of the *Ichijō yōketsu,* see *Eshin sōzu zenshū,* vol. 2.

89Genshin, Kakuun and Kakuchō were also prolific writers on doctrinal issues. For the list of their works, see Shimaji Daitō, *Tendai kyōgakushi* (Tokyo: Ryūbunkan, 1964), 392-396. The authenticity of these listed works, however, is not always clear. See also Watanabe Shujun, "Nihon Tendai no genryū," in *Hieizan* , Watanabe Shujun, Sakamoto Kōbaku, Kiuchi Gyōō, Take Kakuchō, Amano Denchū, and Mizukami Fumiyoshi eds. (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1987), 61-63; and Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū,* 134-140.

90Toward the end of the Heian period, disciples of Genshin and Kakuun had developed into two major competing sub-lineages, Eshin-ryū (Genshin) and Danna-ryū (Kakuun). The doctrinal discussions developed within these linages, which modern scholars call "*hongaku-shisō* (thought of original enlightenment)," had lasting influence on the Japanese Tendai school until the mid-Edo period. See Sueki Fumihiko, *Nihon Bukkyō shisōshi ronkō* (Tokyo: Daizō shuppansha, 1993), 284-346; Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (ge),* 1-10 and 23-94; and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyōshi,* 134-136.

academic divisions within Japanese Tendai which had been leaning heavily toward the study of esotericism. Toward the end of the ninth century, doctrinal controversy over the superiority of esoteric over exoteric methods became heated, and some scholars even openly conceded the superiority of esoteric Buddhism over Tendai doctrine.[91] After Ryōgen's revival of traditional Tendai studies, Tendai scholars did not press the issue of the superiority of any one method, and masters of esoteric practices focused their studies on details of practice (*jisō*) rather than on those of doctrine (*kyōsō*).[92]

Ryōgen's promotion of Tendai studies also changed the Tendai practitioner's attitude toward these practices. Tendai priests before Ryōgen had enthusiastically mastered the esoteric practices to please their aristocratic patrons in deference to traditional exoteric meditation (*shikan*). By appealing to the fundamental ideas of the Tendai teaching. Ryōgen rehabilitated the exoteric methods of meditation, and, as soon as he became abbot, he reinstated *shikan* meditation by promoting *hokke-zanmai* (the *Lotus Sūtra samādhi*) and *fudan-nembutsu* (continuous recitation of *nembutsu*).[93]

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[91]For example, Ennin maintained the superiority of the esoteric method of practice in its phenomenal aspect (*ridō jishō*). Enchin claimed that esoteric methods were superior both in principle and phenomenal aspects (*riji gushō*). Annen placed the esoteric over the exoteric methods of practice. See Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 129-131; Kiuchi Gyōō, "Tendai no mikkyō," in *Hieizan*, 117-128; and Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi*, 93-116. See also Chapter One, section 2.

[92]Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyōshi*, 149-150; Kiuchi Gyōō, "Tendai no mikkyō," in *Hieizan*, 129-132; and Shimaji Daitō, *Tendai kyōgakushi*, 412-429.

[93]The *hokke-zanmai* and *fudan-nembutsu* are practices based on two of the four fundamental exoteric practices (*shishu-zanmai*) prescribed by Chih-i in the *Makashikan*. The *hokke-zanmai* is a type of *hangyō-hanza-zanmai* which is a combination of sitting and walking meditations. The practice consists of ten sections: (1) ritual purification of the meditation hall, (2) ritual purification of body, (3) offerings to the three treasures, (4) introducing the three treasures to the meditation hall, (5) ritual worship of the three treasures, (6) ritual worship of Buddhas and bodhisattvas, (7) confession and repentance, (8) circumambulation in the meditation hall, (9) recitation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, and (10) sitting

Ryōgen's promotion of *shikan* practices also helped to revive exoteric meditation in the Tendai practices.

The prestige of Tendai studies continued to rise after Ryōgen died. Even the Sanmon-Jimon schism, which often spawned violent fights, did not tarnish the reputation and authority of Tendai scholars. During the eleventh century, in the midst of escalating internal fights between Ennin's and Enchin's factions, the Tendai administration was entrusted by the imperial court with overseeing three important official lecture meetings, the *hokke'e* at Enshūji (begun 1072), the *daijōe* at Hosshōji (begun 1078) and the *saishōe* at Enshūji (begun 1082).[94] These three lecture meetings were considered to have an authority equal to the three annual lectures officiated by the Six Nara Schools. A Tendai priest who served as the lecturer at any of the three meetings was automatically entitled to become a member of the office of superintending clergy.[95] By establishing three lecture meetings, Tendai studies achieved equal status with the Six Nara Schools.

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meditation. Practitioners repeat these six times a day for three weeks. In the *fudan-nembutsu* practices, also known as *jōgyō-zanmai*, practitioners continuously recite the name of Amida Buddha while visualizing Amida's image and walking around the statue of Amida. Practitioners continue this walking meditation for ninety days. At Yokawa, Ryōgen particularly emphasized these two meditative practice. The Hokkezanmaidō was donated to Yokawa in 954 by Fujiwara Morosuke and the Jōgyōzanmaidō in 968 by Emperor Reizei. Ryōgen's emphasis on these exoteric practices was demonstrated by his giving priority to the restoration of the Hokkedō and Jōgyōdo in the Tōtō area after the 966 fire. Both buildings were rebuilt within a year. See Take Kakuchō, "Hieizan no gyō," in *Hieizan*, 148-156; Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 47 and 93; Hori Daiji, "Ryōgento Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 47-48; and "Ryōgento Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11.

[94]These three lecture meetings were collectively called the *hokkyō sandai'e* (three great lecture meeting in the Northern capital [Kyoto]). Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū*, 148-149.

[95]Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū*, 150; Hiraoka Jōkai, "Shienji kō," in *Ronshū Nihon Bukkyōshi*, vol. 3, Heian jidai, Hiraoka Jōkai, ed. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku), 207-215; and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 29-30.

Ryōgen's revitalization of Tendai Studies arose not only from his academic concerns, but also from his strategy to reverse Tendai's economic and institutional stagnation. The Tendai school was originally established as an institution for training spiritual guardians of the state. Its popularization through private esoteric rituals had, however, transformed the economic foundation of the school. The infusion of private monies altered the character of the Tendai clerical community into a loosely related association of prayer-offering priests.[96]

As chief administrator of Enryakuji, Ryōgen needed to rebuild the integrity of the Tendai clerical community and restore its original mission to train spiritual guardians of the nation. Ryōgen, however, also had to satisfy the wishes of private patrons who donated to the temples on Mount Hiei.[97] Ryōgen resolved these contradictory requirements by doctrinally fashioning practical solutions through which he could both justify receiving private funds and fulfill Tendai's responsibility to the public good. Ryōgen skillfully identified a patron's private wishes, the welfare of the Tendai clerical community, and the promotion of the public good and then interwove them in the name of the *Lotus Sūtra*.[98]

96Priests no longer followed Saichō's ideal of being spiritual guardians of the nation. Tendai's dependency on private resources gave private interests undue influence. Private donations, rather than regular state funds, became the major source of income for these priests who pursued individual success by fulfilling the private wishes of their patrons. The major buildings on Mount Hiei were built and supported by private donations from the emperor and high ranking aristocratic families as their prayer-offering-temple (*goganji*).

97This became an urgent issue for Ryōgen as soon as he became an abbot of Enryakuji. He had to secure private funds to construct major buildings on Mount Hiei destroyed by the fire in 966.

98This is demonstrated in Ryōgen's dying instructions written in 972. In the instructions Ryōgen says that "The virtue created by sponsoring the eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*] is transferred to all sentient beings and eliminates their evil passions, generates wisdom, and

Conveniently, Ryōgen maintained that private wishes and public welfare could both be realized in *sūtra* lectures or doctrinal debates, which were incorporated into private memorial services. The original intent of such lectures and debates was for the spiritual cultivation of those who attended the services. According to the bodhisattva ideal, as pledged in the bodhisattva precepts, the spiritual development of these lecturers and debaters in turn benefitted all sentient beings. Ryōgen promoted these services among the laity by reminding them that private memorial services also advanced the public good and that they would surely accumulate great merit.[99] This linkage established through memorial services became a common pattern of popular Tendai worship during the late Heian period.[100]

In order to further cement relations with patrons, Ryōgen invited those who were wealthy to support the exoteric meditative practices. Ryōgen particularly solicited his patrons to make donations to maintain Tendai priests who performed *hokke-zanmai* and *fudan-nembutsu* everyday.[101] These daily practices were originally introduced to Mount Hiei as bodhisattva

helps in attaining buddhahood swiftly. [The virtue of the lectures] is also transferred to the late lord [Fujiwara Morosuke] and will help him escape the cycle of birth and death in the three realms and to attain the wondrous state of the one true [thusness]. [Virtue] will also be transferred to the spirit of this old priest." (*TRY* 444b)

99These private patrons were considered to be part of the extended Tendai Buddhist community. In return, Ryōgen provided spiritual support for the entire family member including their deceased ancestors through officiating at the memorial services. In his dying instruction, Ryōgen says, "The eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*], at which I have officiated for years, are held for the sake of the benefit equally of ourselves and others throughout the Dharma realm. Since the lord [Fujiwara Morosuke] passed away, I have officiated at the lectures during his memorial [service] days to transfer merit for his enlightenment." (*TRY* 444a)

100For the development of the *Lotus Sūtra* lectures during the Heian period, see Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 202-208 and 213-231. See also, Willa Jane Tanabe, "The Lotus Lectures; Hokke Hakkō in the Heian Period," 400-406.

101Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 47 and 93; Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (jō)," 47-48; and "Ryōgen to Yokawa fukkō (ge)," 11.

practices for the public good. In return for supporting these practices, patrons were assured that the practices would be dedicated to their family's welfare. Ryōgen's advancement of memorial services as practices of continuous merit transference appealed to the majority of patrons. These patrons began donating their estates so that the services could be continued after they died with the support of the income from these lands.[102] Ryōgen secured the institutional funds needed to maintain the temple and its activities by combining private and public interests.

As a result of the increased reliance on family memorial services, however, patrons from the aristocracy often sought to exert their influence by placing family members or relatives in administrative positions to manage the funds they donated.[103] This practice led to the aristocratization of the Tendai administration. But it also insured that these rich patrons were more

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[102]For example, Yokawa acquired eleven manors from Fujiwara Morosuke's family after he died in 960. Ryōgen and his disciples at Yokawa managed and earned profits from these lands to maintain both Morosuke's memorial services and temples he donated to Yokawa. In Ryōgen's dying instructions, he carefully instruct of his disciples how to manage and develop the estates. (*TRY* 444a-445b) See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 58.

[103]The case of Jinzen, as previously discussed, is typical. Jinzen not only had strong political ties with the imperial court, but was rich since he had inherited his father's estates. As a result of the increasing popularity and reliance on private donations, many members of aristocratic families became Tendai priests. Coming from aristocratic lineages, these priests were in a favorable position to obtain academic skills and to be promoted in the priestly order. It was not clear whether Ryōgen, whose background was very humble, intentionally introduced the institutional aristocratization of the Tendai school. Ryōgen set a precedent in that the economic and political contributions a priest secured were as significant as that priest's individual spiritual power within the Tendai priestly order. Hori Daiji points out that although it was Ryōgen who promoted Jinzen, it was Jinzen who actually changed the legal foundation of Yokawa into a family temple of the Fujiwara Regents in his dying instructions issued in 990. Hori Daiji, "Yokawa Bukkyō no kizokuka no ichimen: Jinzen to Myōkōin," in *Futaba Kenkō hakase kokikinen: Nihon Bukkyōshi ronsō*, Futaba Kenkō hakase kokikinen ronshū kankōkai ed. (Kyoto: Nagata bunshōdō, 1986), 91-126.

strongly committed to the development of the Tendai school.[104]

Tendai's promotion of *hokke hakkō* services also provided literary opportunities. Through these services, patrons learned not only the Tendai view of the *sūtra* but also expressed their own ideas by composing devotional poems, a practice which gradually became an indispensable part of *hokke hakkō* among court literati during the late-Heian period.[105] The active involvement of patrons in *hokke hakkō* contrasted with patrons of the esoteric rituals who passively awaited good fortune. Although poetry reading was a sophisticated form of entertainment among the court literati, participants in the services often developed serious interests in their own spiritual growth. In 964, one year after the Ōwa debate, a Tendai study group (*kangaku'e*) was started by the students of the court academy with the help of Tendai priests.[106]

The *kangaku'e* was a combination of entertainment and devotional

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104Aristocratization advanced also within the Hossō and the Shingon schools during the mid-Heian period. Thus it was not particularly distinctive to the Tendai school. The beginning of the aristocratization in the Tendai school began after Jinzen during the beginning of the eleventh century. See, Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizanshi*, 156-159; Hirata Toshiharu, *Heian jidai no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yamaichi shobō, 1943), 17-28; Inoue Mitsusada, *Shintei Nihon Jōdokyō seiritsushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha,1975), 117-183, and Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 72-73.

105There are several collections of poems composed on the *Lotus Sūtra* since the Nara period. But this did not become a popular custom until Ryōgen's time. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 260-261, and Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon koten bungaku to Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1988), 95-99.

106This group met semi-annually and the member consisted of twenty Tendai priests and twenty court literati. One of the founders of the group was Yoshishige no Yasutane (Jakushin, 931-1002), who later became a Tendai priest as a disciple of Genshin. Although meetings were sometimes sporadic, this association of Tendai priests and court literati continued for one hundred fifty years. See Obara Hitoshi, *Bunjin kizoku no keifu* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1987), 46-54, and Gotō Akio, "Eizan to Heianchō bunjin tono kōshō," in *Eizan no bunka*, Arai Eizō, Watanabe Sadamaro, and Mimura Terunori eds. (Kyoto: Sekaishisōsha, 1989), 120-125.

practices.[107] At each meeting, members attended a lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* in the morning session, worshiped Amida in the evening session, and then presented poems on the *Lotus Sūtra*.[108] The increasing popularity of poetry reading on the *Lotus Sūtra* at the lecture meetings made the *sūtra* a rich source of literary inspiration.[109] At the same time it became indispensable for the court literati to understand the contents of the *sūtra*.[110]

107These two aspects of the meeting often became an issue among the participants, particularly whether poetry reading was compatible with Buddhist practice. The fourth major precept of the bodhisattva precepts requires practitioners not to lie, and Chih-i's commentary on the *Brahma-net Sūtra* says that of the five conditions to identify transgression of the fourth precepts includes "deceiving (*giō*)," which might include playing with fictional words like those in poetry. The court literati often justified the entertaining aspect of poetry with the example of the Chinese poet Po Chü-i (772-846) who was also a devout Buddhist. In his collection of poetry he says, "I wish that my misconduct of composing fictitious and playful words (*kyōgen kigo*) in my secular literary works during this life might be changed into the cause of producing worship of the Buddhist path and the condition of turning the wheel of Dharma in my future lives." (*Hakushi Monjū*, vol. 71.) Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon kotenbungaku to Bukkyō*, 5-8, and Obara Hitoshi, *Bunjin kizoku no keifu*, 46.

108*Kangaku'e* was not only a *Lotus Sūtra* lecture meeting but also a fraternity for aspirants who wished to be born in the Pure Land in the afterlife. Although the level of aspiration among participants varied, this aspect of the *kangaku'e* represented the rise of Pure Land teachings within the Tendai school. One of the founders of the meeting, Yoshishige no Yasutane, later took tonsure and became a Tendai priest in 986, one year after Ryōgen died. He organized a Pure Land fraternity at Yokawa with the collaboration of Genshin, who had published *Ōjōyōshū* (The Essential collection concerning birth in [Amida's Pure Land]) in 985. (For the study and a translation of the *Ōjōyōshū*, see Alan Andrews, *The Teachings Essential for Rebirth: A Study of Genshin's Ōjōyōshū* [Tokyo: Sophia University, 1970.]) See Inoue Mitsusada, *Shintei Nihon Jōdokyō seiritsushi no kenkyū*, 90-94, and Obara Hitoshi, *Bunjin kizoku no keifu*, 54-75.

109The courtiers began composing poems by taking themes from the *Lotus Sūtra*. Such poems are first found in a royal poetry collection (*chokusenshū*) in *Shūi wakashū* compiled between 1005 and 1011. Around the same time the royal poems collection was compiled, it became a custom among courtiers to compose poetry on the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra* called *nijūhachibonka* at the *hokke hakkō*. The earliest recorded collection of *nijūhachibonka* was edited by Fujiwara Arikuni in 1002 at the request of Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027). In another royal poetry collection *Goshūi wakashū*, the section of Buddhist poetry (*shakkyōka*), which was compiled between 1078-1086, became recognized as an independent genre of Japanese poetry. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 260-261 and 264-275; Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon kotenbungaku to Bukkyō*, 95-99; and Ishikawa Hajime, "Hokkekyō to waka," in *Eizan no bunka*, 139-141.

110Tendai's influence on poetry reading among courtiers is demonstrated in *Ryōjin hishō*, a collection of popular songs and poems compiled during the late Heian period (ca. 1169). The themes of the Buddhist songs and poems in the *Ryōjin hishō* were systematically classified

Since the majority of *hokke hakkō* services were led by Tendai priests, Tendai views of one vehicle and buddha-nature gradually became normative among the court literati. The three major Tendai commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* by Chih-i were especially scrutinized by the Heian courtiers.[111] Some of the court literati also began to learn the Tendai doctrine more professionally. Leading courtiers including Regent Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027) often invited Ryōgen's disciples to lecture on the major Tendai commentaries.[112] The laity made important contributions to the academic study of Buddhism. For example, Prince Tomohira (964-1009), a son of the emperor Murakami, compiled *Guketsu getenshō,* notes on non-Buddhist sources appearing in Chan-jan's *Shikanbugyōden guketsu* (*Chin-kuan fu-hsing ch'ung-hung-chüeh*), a Chinese commentary on Chih-i's *Makashikan* (*Mo ho chih kuan*).[113]

Popular Tendai worship spread from the courtiers to the general populace during the late Heian period. Lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra*

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according to Tendai's five chronological divisions (*goji*) of scriptures. Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū,* 278; Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon kotenbungaku to Bukkyō* 141-149; and Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (jō),* 36-58.

111Hazama Jikō points out that historical records show that Chih-i's three great books on Tendai (*Tendai sandaibu*) in thirty volumes and the three commentaries on each of Chih-i's works by Chan-jan (Tannen, 711-782) in thirty volumes were considered an essential part of literacy among the court literati, and they became major literary sources for the Heian courtiers. Although the other Buddhist schools had their own versions of *Lotus Sūtra* commentaries, it was Tendai's commentaries which set the standard in the literary circles of the Heian courtiers. Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (jō),* 24-25, and Kobayashi Naoki, "*Tendai sandaibu* to setsuwa: *Chūkōsen* wo megutte," in *Setsuwa no ba; Shōdō chūshaku,* Honda Yoshinori, Ikegami Junichi, Komine Kazuaki, Mori Masato, and Abe Yasurō eds. (Tokyo: Benseisha, 1993), 272-274 and 287-288.

112Records shows that on numerous occasions between 1002-1005 Michinaga attended the Tendai lectures by Kakuun and Ingen. Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (jō),* 21-22.

113He compiled this text upon the request of his mentor Zōga at Tōnomine. Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (jō),* 24-25.

were also adopted as a popular form of memorial service by commoners. The confirmation ceremony of bodhisattva precepts also became popular among lay followers.[114] The activities of popular Tendai preachers called *jikyōsha* (retainers of the [*Lotus*] *Sūtra*) also helped spread the fundamental teachings of the Tendai school to the provinces.[115] By the end of the Heian period, Ryōgen's efforts to integrate Tendai doctrine and institution elevated the ideas of one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts to the level of normative thought for the spiritual life of the Japanese.

114Ishida Mizumaro, *Nihon Bukkyō ni okeru kairitsu no kenkyū*, 422.

115Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 376-429.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has demonstrated how Ryōgen's revival of Tendai studies and concurrent institutional reform of Enryakuji during the mid-Heian period resuscitated the stagnated Tendai clerical community that had lost much of its doctrinal and institutional integrity. When Ryōgen entered Enryakuji on Mount Hiei in 923 as a novice, the practitioners devoted little effort to the study of Tendai doctrine that was the basis for their meditative practices. Doctrinal studies had been progressively disregarded since before Ryōgen's time. Further, institutional secularization had led to an erosion of monastic discipline. In order to restore institutional integrity and revitalize the study of doctrine, Ryōgen emphasized three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas, one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva's precepts. As an administrator, Ryōgen believed that, if these three ideas were accepted and institutionalized, the Tendai community would be harmonious and orderly.

Tendai masters before Ryōgen also appreciated these ideas. Ryōgen, however, skillfully used the ideas to instill in his community a renewed sense of identity and to articulate its distinctiveness from other Buddhist schools. Under Ryōgen's leadership, Japanese Tendai developed into the largest and most influential Buddhist community in Japan with an

community of three thousand priests residing on Mount Hiei by the end of the Heian period.[1]

The ingenuity of Ryōgen's leadership as the abbot of Enryakuji lay in his vision of integrated doctrine and institution. In order to reform the Tendai school, Ryōgen not only promoted Tendai's unique interpretations of one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts, but also applied these ideas institutionally to all segments of the Tendai community including lay followers. Instead of relying on his personal charisma, Ryōgen used these three doctrinal ideas to create a broadly based movement which involved people from all sectors of society who had ties with the Tendai school.

In order to stimulate reform, Ryōgen focused on three Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas: one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts, the most fundamental doctrines of the Japanese Tendai school. The doctrine of one vehicle holds that the Mahāyāna teaching of the bodhisattva path is the ultimate path to enlightenment and is to be travelled by all beings. According to the *Lotus Sūtra,* though the Buddha taught non-Mahāyāna paths to enlightenment, these paths are provisional methods designed to awaken them to the Mahāyāna bodhisattva path for spiritually immature practitioners. Tendai scholars interpreted the teaching of "one vehicle" to mean that all Buddhist practices are subsumed under the "one great vehicle" of Mahāyāna. They maintained that their method of practice, established according to the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra,* was the most comprehensive guide to buddhahood for everyone.

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[1]Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendaishū no tanjō to hatten," 64-65.

The doctrine of buddha-nature proclaims the universal possibility of enlightenment. The *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* states that all beings possesses the capability for buddhahood. Tendai scholars recognized the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* as having a scriptural authority equal to the *Lotus Sūtra*. "Buddha-nature" is not an abstraction, but is an intrinsic quality possessed by all sentient beings. They expressed this idea in the phrase "all phenomenal things are themselves ultimate reality." Tendai scholars also used the idea of "buddha-nature" to substantiate the Tendai interpretation of "one vehicle." They argue that because of the universality of buddha-nature, all beings will eventually realize their given nature although it may take an infinite span of lifetimes before each being experiences fully this spiritual reality.

The bodhisattva precepts—rules of conduct for Mahāyāna practitioners—are based upon the Mahāyāna bodhisattva's vow to win spiritual release for all beings. The ideal of the bodhisattva precepts is summarized in the threefold pure precepts: (1) avoid all evil acts; (2) do all good acts; (3) embrace and benefit all sentient beings. Mahāyāna Buddhist schools traditionally affirmed the bodhisattva precepts as the ideal of the Mahāyāna Buddhist community, and emphasized their appropriateness for all Mahāyāna practitioners, both cleric and lay. Tendai scholars further identified the ideal of the precepts with the realization of the concepts of one vehicle and buddha-nature. When the Japanese Tendai school established its independent ordination platform in 822, it adopted a version of the bodhisattva precepts prescribed in the *Brahma-net Sūtra* as the foundation of clerical discipline.

Ryōgen had to overcome two obstacles for the proper implementation

of these ideas within the institutional structure of Japanese Tendai. First, Ryōgen needed to improve Tendai's standing vis-á-vis the Hossō school, which considered the Tendai views on these ideas to be unorthodox. The prestige of the Hossō school and the political influence of the Fujiwara family effectively silenced Tendai's alternative doctrinal interpretations.

Second, the increasing popularity of esoteric Buddhist rituals further reduced the value of these three fundamental ideas within the Tendai school. Because patrons who provided financial resources demanded esoteric rituals, Tendai did not have a stable administrative basis for the propagation of these doctrines. The Tendai institution developed rapidly through the patronage of powerful politicians who were smitten by esoteric ritual. The originality of the Japanese Tendai school, however, lost ground with the decline of traditional Tendai studies.

Ryōgen solved these institutional problems by skillfully linking politico-economic power to Tendai's doctrinal views. To promote his vision, Ryōgen made sure that the political power of the Fujiwara family supported the academic study of Tendai doctrine. The Fujiwara's patronage of Tendai studies at Yokawa raised the public authority of the Tendai school. Ryōgen's success in the Ōwa debate also boosted the confidence of Tendai scholars in their relation to the Hossō scholars.

In order to further popularize these fundamental Tendai doctrines, Ryōgen promoted private *Lotus Sūtra* lecture meetings for lay followers. Ryōgen made it a custom for the Fujiwaras to invite Tendai priests to hold lecture meetings at their family services. He also held public lecture meetings to propagate Tendai teachings among the populace. The popularity of the

lecture meetings gave Tendai's exoteric practitioners more opportunity to put their skills into practice, thus restoring a balance between esoteric and exoteric practices in the Tendai school. Ryōgen also reinstated the semi-monthly confirmation ceremony of bodhisattva precepts for Tendai clerics in order to rectify lax discipline. He required all resident priests at Enryakuji to attend the ceremony. He also promoted the initiation ceremony of the bodhisattva precepts for lay followers through which they could share in the same bodhisattva ideal as the clerics.

Collaborating with Fujiwara's politico-economic powers and incorporating the three principal doctrines, Ryōgen transformed the Tendai school into one of the most successful religious institutions in Japan. The work of such personalities as Jinzen, Genshin, Kakuun, and Kakuchō further enhanced Ryōgen's reputation and his ideas. Ryōgen and his major disciples were promoted into high positions in the office of superintending clergy and eventually took over the administration of Mount Hiei. Within a generation, Ryōgen managed to bring the entire administration of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei under his control.

Through the influence and ideas of Ryōgen and his disciples, the public not only came to recognize Ryōgen as the leader of the Tendai school, but also began to consider the Tendai doctrines of one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts as normative Mahāyāna Buddhist teachings. Lay followers, especially Fujiwara courtiers, embraced Tendai's inclusive doctrinal view which blurred the distinction between lay and cleric. Tendai commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* were extensively studied not only by clerics but also by court literati. Knowledge of the Tendai view of the *Lotus Sūtra*

became indispensable for the literary inspiration of the courtiers. The rising popularity of the Tendai school spread not only to the aristocrats but also to commoners. Toward the end of the Heian period, Ryōgen's integration of Tendai doctrine with institution extended beyond the Tendai clerical community such that the ideas of one vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts became normative for Japanese spiritual life.

Modern scholars, however, have not given proper recognition to Ryōgen's effort. This study, I hope, have rectified this neglect in a small way. Past studies of Japanese Buddhist history mention Ryōgen only briefly and almost entirely in the context of institutional development. Modern historical scholarship tends to emphasize dramatic events such as the *sanmon-jimon* schism and the following inter-factional fights.[2] Due to the introduction of the power and resources of Fujiwara Morosuke's family, Ryōgen has been viewed as the person who introduced aristocracy into the Tendai school. As a result, scholars have one–sidedly portrayed Ryōgen as a

[2]Murayama Shūichi's recent book on the history of the development of Mount Hiei shows typically this type of bias in modern historical studies on Ryōgen and the Japanese Tendai school. His book *Hieizan shi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki* is published in 1994. In the last paragraph on a chapter on Ryōgen, he concluded that, because Ryōgen did not have significant academic publications, "Ryōgen hardly made any contribution to the development of Japanese Tendai studies. He, however, brought great institutional prosperity to the [Tendai] school, and he, ironically (*hinikunimo*), initiated the rise of the Pure Land teaching in the Heian period." (Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki.* 143.) Neil McMullin concurs Ryōgen's role in the *sanmon-jimon* schism and reaches a similar conclusion. He says in his paper, "It was a great achievement of Ryōgen's to have brought to the Enryakuji a type of central authority and a degree of unity it had lacked, and it was because of Ryōgen's efforts that the Enryakuji entered its 'golden age' (*ōgon jidai*) in the late tenth century. However, the price of that achievement was high: it was a schism in the Tendai community, a schism that has never healed." (Neil McMullin, "The Sanmon-Jimon Schism in the Tendai School of Buddhism: A Preliminary Analysis," 99.)

skillful administrator[3] who initiated the aristocracization of the Tendai clerical community, or as a politicized monk who schemed to gain influence in the court.[4]

The aristocracization of the Tendai's clerical community, however, had not become obvious until the late-Heian period.[5] It was during the eleventh

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[3]Neil McMullin maintains that Ryōgen collaborated with Fujiwara Morosuke to take over Enryakuji by taking Morosuke's son, Jinzen, as his disciple. He says, "It might be said, therefore, that Morosuke had created a new branch of his family at the Enryakuji and that his pact with Ryōgen marked the beginning of the 'aristocracization' (*kizokuka*)—the Fujiwara family's direct takeover—of Enryakuji." (Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 128.)

[4]By focusing on Ryōgen's promotion of Jinzen, Neil McMullin maintains, "It should be also noted that the period when monks were able to attain high office in the monastic communities primarily on the basis of two criteria—namely, character (i.e., virtue and intelligence) and seniority in Buddhist orders—ended around Ryōgen's time. From that time on, at least in the case of Enryakuji, blood took precedence over brains; it became much more important for a monk to have proper family lineage than to have a profound knowledge of the sutras, a reputation for holiness, or seniority in orders. Ryōgen himself may have contributed to that change by seeing to it that the person who succeeded him as Tendai head abbot, Morosuke's son Jinzen, was noted more for his family connections than for his intellectual prowess or exemplary virtue. The main reason for the change, however, was the very success of the major monasteries in acquiring considerable economic and political power. The more powerful the monastic communities became the less likely it was that the ruling elites would allow them to go their own way. Jinzen it will be recalled, was originally sent to the Enryakuji to watch over the materials that his father, Morosuke, had donated to the monastery." (Neil McMullin, "The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics in the Mid-Heian Period," 135-136.) McMullin, however, does not provide historical evidence to support his grand statements on the transformation of the administration system of Enryakuji and Jinzen's intellectual capability. On the contrary, historical records show that aristocracization of Enryakuji was developed by Jinzen within his residence of Myōkōin at Yokawa. Jinzen at the time of his death issued his instructions which restricted the transmission of the ownership of Myōkōin and its properties to the Tendai priests of the descendants of Morosuke's family. Jinzen's intentions, however, should be interpreted as his measure to protect his own property inherited from Morosuke scattered and exploited by the administrators of Enryakuji. As for the intellectual and spiritual qualifications of Jinzen, Jinzen was generally considered as one of the four leading disciples of Ryōgen. Jinzen's appointment to the abbot after Ryōgen was also inevitable because of his high position in the office of superintending clergy. Jinzen, however, seems to have understood that he was not up to that position and he resigned in four years. Thereafter appointment to the abbot's position generally followed the seniority rules, at least in the case of Ryōgen's direct disciples. For Jinzen's career, see Hori Daiji,"Yokawa Bukkyō no kizokuka no ichimen: Jinzen to Myōkōin," 91-126.

[5]Hirata Toshiharu points out that the presence of aristocrats in the priestly order in the positions of Enryakuji *zasu*, Kōfukuji *bettō* and lecturers in *sandai'e* did not become obvious until the mid-eleventh century. See Hirata Toshiharu, *Heian jidai no kenkyū*, 17-21.

and twelfth centuries, when priests on Mount Hiei who had strong ties with aristocratic families began accumulating a substantial number of armed personnel to protect their private manors scattered over the country.[6] These armed forces eventually evolved into organized groups of *sōhei* (priest-warriors). With secure financial resources and an organized armed force, Enryakuji became deeply involved in national politics.[7] Historically speaking, it is not fair to say that Ryōgen was responsible for every issue that arose after he died.

Neither were aristocratization and militarization of Buddhist institutions during the late-Heian period unique to the Tendai school. One of Tendai's competitors, the Shingon school, was far more active in incorporating aristocratic power and resources.[8] As for militarization, the Hossō school was also notorious for their organized priest-warriors.[9] What made the Tendai school unique after Ryōgen died was its continuous development of doctrinal study and its popularization. Modern scholars, however, fail to appreciate the significance of Ryōgen's efforts in integrating doctrine and institutional structure. This neglect, I believe, stems from their underestimation of Ryōgen's mastery of Tendai doctrine and his administrative skills which fused theory with practical reality.

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[6]Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 144-164.

[7]The rise of the priest-warriors (*sōhei*), or bad-priests (*akusō*), occurred during the twelfth century both in Kōfukuji and Enryakuji. Tendai priest-warriors was particularly active during the Genpei-war toward the end of the twelfth century. See Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 165-183.

[8]Murayama Shūichi, *Hieizan shi: Tatakai to inori no seiiki*, 165-157.

[9]Hirata Toshiharu, "Akusō ni tsuite," in *Shūkyō shakishi kenkyū*, Risshō daigaku shigakukai, ed. (Tokyo: Yūzankaku, 1977), 125-143.

Contrary to the claims of modern scholars, the institutional system of Tendai studies established by Ryōgen worked continuously throughout the medieval period, despite the decline of Fujiwara power and the authority of the imperial court. After Ryōgen, the authority of Tendai doctrine further rose through the introduction of their own official lecture meetings, *hokkyō sandai'e,* that were officiated independently by the Tendai school free from the interference from other scholars during the eleventh century.

Although Tendai studies did not decline, they began to lose their creativity and became more and more formalized toward the end of the Heian period. The interpretation of the scriptures became systematized as the Tendai "catechism" (*shūyō-gika*), compile primarily for memorization, not for spiritual cultivation.[10] In the process of this formalization, originality in doctrinal discussions in the lectures and debate were also lost.

The temples on Mount Hiei, however, maintained their rigorous and serene environment for serious scholars even in the middle of the fierce war between the Minamoto and Taira clans toward the end of the twelfth century. For example, Hōchibō Shōshin (ca. twelfth-thirteenth century) read through the entire Chinese *tripitaka* sixteen times and compiled his critical notes in

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[10]During the period of Ryōgen and his direct disciples, Tendai scholars were also required to discuss doctrinal issues of other schools. Within a few generations after Ryōgen, however, Tendai scholars began losing interest in subjects other than Tendai studies. Without the scrutiny of outsiders, Tendai scholars began losing their critical edge. See Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongishi no kenkyū,* 141-153, and Ogami Kanchū, "Ōwa no shūron to shūyō gika no kakuritsu," 58-68.

thirty volumes on the three great works of Chih-i, oblivious to the war.[11]

During the Kamakura period, critical thinkers within the Tendai school continued to appear from Ryōgen's lineage, such as Hōnen, Dōgen, Shinran, and Nichiren. They were all originally trained at Enryakuji and belonged to Ryōgen's lineage. They left, or were ousted, from the Tendai order and became leaders of popular religious movements outside of Mount Hiei. New popular Buddhist movements, such as Jōdo, Zen, and Nichiren were to appear from the groups led by these spiritual leaders. The forms of practice of these new movements were very different from each other: *nembutsu* for Hōnen and Shinran, *zazen* for Dōgen, and *daimoku* for Nichiren. Their doctrinal formations were deeply influenced by the three ideas one-vehicle, buddha-nature and bodhisattva precepts, promoted by Ryōgen.[12]

During the Kamakura period, the influence of Tendai orthodoxy went beyond the Tendai school. About two centuries after the Ōwa debate, even the Hossō scholars began to accept the Tendai's doctrinal position of one-vehicle

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[11]Shōshin compiled *Hokkesandaibu shiki* in thirty volumes between 1165-1207. See Tamura Yoshirō, *Hongakushisōron*, in *Tamura Yoshirō Bukkyōgaku ronshū*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1990), 393. The text of the *Hokkesandaibu shiki* is available in *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 21 and 22. See also Sonoda Kōyū, "Sōron genjitsu kōtei no tetsugaku: Tendaishū no tanjō to hatten," 64-65, and Paul Swanson, "Editor's Introduction," *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 14 (1987): 74.

[12]For the discussion of the influence of orthodox Tendai doctrine on these spiritual leaders, see Hisao Inagaki, "The Bodhisattva Doctrine as Conceived and Developed by the Founders of the New Sects in the Heian and Kamakura Periods," in *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhism*, Leslie Kawamura, ed. (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1981), 165-191; Tamura Yoshirō, *Hongakushisōron*, 325-345; and Hazama Jikō, *Nihon Bukkyō no tenkai to sono kichō (jō): Nihon Tendai to Kamakura Bukkyō*, 308-330. Tendai's influence was not only doctrinal but also institutional. All of these new spiritual movements adopted Tendai-style ordination ceremonies when they established their institutional foundations during the Muromachi period. See Matsuo Kenji, *Kamakura shinbukkyō no seiritsu*, 206-248.

and buddha nature. For example the renowned Hossō scholars, Jōkei (1155-1213) and Ryōhen (1194-1252) put aside Hossō orthodoxy and embraced Tendai's position of the universal availability of enlightenment in their works.[13]

Because the primary concern of this dissertation was to evaluate historically Ryōgen's works, a significant number of semi-historical and folkloric accounts of Ryōgen were necessarily excluded from consideration. A study looking at the so-called "popular" beliefs that arose around the personage of Ryōgen, both during his lifetime and after his death, would add another aspect to the body of work concerning Ryōgen. Not only the historical facts of his life, but legends and stories which tell of miraculous events and even the deification of Ryōgen are all important for a complete understanding of this Tendai figure as he is perceived today.

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[13]See Kamata Shigeo, "Nanto kyōgaku no shisōshi teki igi (kaisetsu)," in *Kamakura kyūbukkyō*, Nihon shisō taikei, vol. 15 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1971); Satō Hiroo, Nihon chūsei no kokka to Bukkyō (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1987), 49; and Tamura Kōyū, "Busshō ronsō," in *Higashi ajia no Bukkyō*, Iwanami kōza tōyō shisō, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1988), 256-257.

APPENDIX A. TRANSLATIONS

1. A Record of the Ōwa Debate: with Tendai Ryōgen's letter forwarded to various schools

2. Invocation of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen

3. Dying Instructions of the Great Archbishop Jie

Translations found in Appendix A are based on the following texts.

1. *A Record of the Ōwa Debate: with Tendai Ryōgen's letter forwarded to various schools* (*Ōwa shūron nikki: Fu Tendai Ryōgen, shoshū ni tsukawasu shōmon,* 応和宗論日記：付、天台良源、諸宗に遣す消文)

- *Ōwa shūron ki narabini Onkaku sōjō*. In *Dainihon bukkyō zensho,* vol. 124: 87-89. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1915.

2. *Invocation of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen* (*Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō,* 天台座主良源起請).

- *Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*. In *Heian ibun,* vol. 2, edited by Takeuchi Rizō, 431-440. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1974.
- A photo reproduction of the original manuscript in *Ganzan Jie Daishi no kenkyū*. Kyoto: Dōbōsha, 1984.

3. *Dying Instructions of the Great Archbishop Jie* (*Jie Daisōjō Goyuigō,* 慈恵大僧正御遺告)

- *Tendai zasu Ryōgen yuigō*. In *Heian ibun,* vol. 2, edited by Takeuchi Rizō, 441-448. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō shuppan, 1974.
- A photo reproduction of the original manuscript published as *Heian: Jie Daishi Jihitsu yuigō*. Nihon meiseki sōkan, vol. 13. Komatsu, Shigemi and Hirabayashi Moritoku, eds. Tokyo: Nigensha, 1977.

A Record of The Ōwa Debate

<With Tendai Ryōgen's Letter Forwarded To Various Schools>

Ōwa shūron nikki

<fu Tendai Ryōgen, shoshū ni tsukawasu shōmon>

応和宗論日記

＜付、天台良源、諸宗に遣す消文＞

A Record of the Ōwa Debate

<with Tendai Ryōgen's letter forwarded to various schools>

I[1] have examined the records of the Ōwa Debate, held during the reign of Emperor Murakami, the sixty-second emperor to preside at our court, on the twenty-eighth day of the fourth month of the first year of Ōwa [961] <the year of *kanoto tori*[2]>, [and found that] Ryōgen of Mt. Hiei visited [the emperor] at Seiryōden.[3] After he listened to the words of his Highness, he presented the opinion to his Highness that he did not understand why the Hossō school had always been given the favored position as the supervisor of the six schools. Privately [Ryōgen] gathered from the emperor's response that [his Highness] did not object [to his opinion]. Therefore, Ryōgen, on the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the same year [961], wrote to Genkei of the Kegon

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1The author and the date of the text are both unknown. According to the notes attached to the text, it was one of the documents stored in Kōfukuji and it is thought that the text is composed by a certain Hossō priest. The currently available edition of the text is bound together with another text called *Onkaku sōjō*, a petition of a Hossō monk of Kōfukuji, Onkaku (d. 1162) composed in 1162. This document may suggest the date of the *Ōwa shūronki*.

2辛酉 "senior metal" with "cock." An element-zodiac calendar year.

3清涼殿 Seiryōden. The sovereign's private residence in the inner palace (*dairi*) of the Heian-kyō.

school and to Ichijō of the Sanron school urging them to file a petition to the emperor. In the letter [Ryōgen] wrote, "All schools of Buddhism have originated from the same wondrous sphere of true thusness. There is no difference [in the spiritual worth of each Buddhist school]. But the disciples of Chihō,[4] in particular, have always been given the favorable position of supervising officer of the six schools. I [Ryōgen] presented my opinion [to the emperor] that [the favoritism to the Hossō school] is unreasonable. [His Highness] also agreed with [my opinion]. Therefore, I urge you, too, to present your opinion swiftly to the emperor [regarding the position of the supervisor of the six schools]. Sincerely yours, Ryōgen." Each school's representative presented his opinion on this issue to the emperor by letter. A petition from the Kegon school was entrusted to the Minister of Defence, Prince [Shōmei][5], on the eighth day of the eighth month of the first year of Ōwa [961]. A petition from the Sanron school was entrusted to the Minister of Civil Administration, the lord of Minamoto, Masazane[6] on the third day of the tenth month of the same year. A petition from the Tendai school was entrusted to the Middle Captain of the Right Division of the Headquarters of the Inner Palace Guards, [Minamoto no] Nobumitsu,[7] on the sixth day of the eleventh month of the same year. In the third month of the second year of

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[4]智鳳 (ca. 8th century) A Hossō scholar of Gangōji in Nara. An immigrant from Shiragi (Sila) of Korea. He studied in T'ang China (703). He was appointed lecturer of theYuimae in 706.

[5]兵部卿[章明]親王 *hyōbukyō* [Shōmei] *shinnō*. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 73.

[6]治部卿源朝臣雅信 *jibukyō* Minamoto *ason* Masazane.

[7]右近中将[源]延光 *ukon chūjō* [Minamoto no] Nobumitsu. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 73.

Ōwa [962], an official notice from the emperor was released to each school. The notice stated, "Judging from the petitions, I think the claims [filed by the various schools] are not unreasonable. [The position of the supervising officer of the six schools] should be decided by the excellence of the teaching [of each school]. I urge each [school of Buddhism] to present an official report [concerning its doctrine]." Although the official notice from the emperor was issued, the official reports [from the Buddhist schools] were not filed. Therefore, on the fifth day of the sixth month of the third year of Ōwa [963], another official notice from the emperor was released [to each school]. The notice stated, "A service [to celebrate the completion of the copying] of a *sūtra* by his Highness[8] will be held on the coming nineteenth day of this month. [Representatives of each school] are required to attend the service." The service scheduled on the nineteenth day of the six month was postponed to the thirteenth day of the seventh month. The service scheduled on the thirteenth day of the seventh month was postponed again. On the eleventh day of the eighth month, an official notice was released by the Middle Controller of the Left, Lord Fuminori.[9] "The Great Minister of the Left[10] has received an imperial order which states 'On the twenty first day of this month, the day of *kanoe ne*,[11] a special service will be held at Seiryōden, the sovereign's private residence. [The service] will last for five days. Twenty

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8御筆の御経供養 *mihitsu no mikyōkuyō.* A service to cerebrate the completion of the copying of the *Lotus Sūtra* by the emperor.

9左中弁文範朝臣 *sachūben* Fuminori *ason.*

10左大臣 *sadaijin.*

11庚子 "senior metal" with "rat." An element-zodiac calendar day.

priests will be invited to discuss the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra*. [In every session during the service,] each leader of the service is requested to present his doctrinal interpretation of the *sūtra*.'"

During the five days, there were ten sessions in total. In each session, a priest was nominated lecturer. The following is a list of the nominated priests.[12]

Sanron school, Kanri, Superintendent,[13] Tōdaiji.

Kegon school, Genkei, Superintendent, Tōdaiji.

Hossō school, Anshū, Certified Lecturer,[14] Kōfukuji.

Hossō school, Hōzō, Certified Lecturer, Tōdaiji,.

Hossō school, Ninga, declined.

Hossō school, Tanshō, Tōdaiji.

Hossō school, Heishū.

Hossō school, Senri, declined.

Hossō school, Shinki, Kōfukuji.

Hossō school, Chūsan, Kōfukuji.

The above mentioned ten priests were [nominated] from the Hossō, Sanron,

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12For the dates of each nominated priests, see "Roster of the Ōwa Debate" in Appendices.

13律師 *risshi* (precept-master). A rank of the superintending clergy.

14已講 *ikō*. An academic title given to the priests who successfully completed the lectureship of the three great-lecture-meetings (*sandaie*) in Nara.

and Kegon schools of the Southern Capital[15].

Tendai school, Zenyu, Enryakuji.

Tendai school, Ryōgen, Enryakuji.

Chikō

Jujō

Tendai school, Shōku, Enryakuji.

Tendai school, Senkan, declined.

Tendai school, Zōga, declined.

Tendai school, Yokei.

Nōe

Gashū

These ten priests were [nominated] from the Tendai school of the Northern Capital.[16]

Among these twenty nominees, four priests, Ninga, Senri, Senkan, and Zōga, declined.

Substitute for Ninga: Hossō school, Zōso, Yakushiji.

Substitute for Senri: Hossō school, Sentō, Kōfukuji.

Substitute for Senkan: Sūju, Enryakuji.

15南都 *nanto,* i.e. former capital Nara.

16北京 *hokkyō,* i.e. Kyoto.

Substitute for Zōga: Kakukei, from Enryakuji.

Zōso also declined. Substitute for him: Sanron school, Engei, Tōdaiji.

• On the twenty first, at the hour of the Snake [9 A.M.], the leader of the service of the opening session, Kanri, lectured on the *Muryōgi-kyō*.[17] The respondent was Yokei.

The leader of the service in the evening session, Genkei, lectured on the first volume of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The respondent was Nōe.

• On the twenty second, the leader of the service in the morning session, Genkei, lectured on the second volume [of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. The respondent was Gashū.

The leader of the service in the evening session <this session began at the hour of the Ram [1 P.M.]> was Hōzō of the Hossō school. The respondent was Kakukei.

During the fourth session, the respondent, arguing against, claimed the lecturer that a sentient being of no-nature[18] does not exist at all. The manner of the [counter] argument of the leader of the service, the great Dharma

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17 無量義経, Taisho, vol. 9, No. 276: 383-389. One of the three principal *sūtras* of the Tendai school. The *sūtra* is considered to be an introduction to the *Lotus Sūtra*.

18 無性 *mushō*. A category of sentient being who is incapable of becoming any of the three kind of sages, i.e. *bodhisattva, śrāvaka,* and *pratyekabuddha*.

master Hōzō, was so dignified [that the respondent backed off] before Hōzō raised his verbal sword an inch. His skilled argument during the *sūtra* lecture was unrivaled.

The courtiers [who heard his argument] were most impressed. At this point, Ryōgen of Tendai entered into [the debate between the two] and argued that a sentient being of no-nature does not exist at all. Heated debate between the two schools continued until the fourth quarter of the hour of the Dog [8:30 P.M.]. In consideration of the exhaustion of the attenders, the leader of the service [Hōzo] suspended his response [to Ryōgen] and he informed [the attenders] that would answer the question on the following day.

• On the twenty third, at the hour of the Snake [9 A.M.], the leader of the service in the morning session, Ryōgen, lectured on the fourth volume [of the *Lotus Sūtra*].

Heishū was the respondent [of this session] at the emperor's request. During Ryōgen's *sūtra* lecture, the audience was exceedingly impressed. From the emperor to the courtiers, [all attenders] were moved to tears. The debate continued until the fourth quarter of the hour of the Ram [2:30 P.M.]. During this session, the great [Dharma] master Hōzō presented his reply to the previous day's question.

The leader of the service in the evening session, Zenyu, lectured on the fifth volume [of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. The respondent was Sentō <absent>.

• On the twenty fourth day, the leader of the service in the morning session, Chikō, lectured on the sixth volume [of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. The respondent was Shinki <with honors>.

The leader of the service in the evening session, Tanshō, lectured on the seventh volume [of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. The respondent was Sūju <absent>.

During the evening lecture, which was the eighth session, Nijō [from the audience] asked a question. The leader of the service continued, saying, "This lecture is on the chapter of Commissioning [the Dharma].[19] During the lecture on the chapter of Commissioning [the Dharma], the respondent and attending priests [customarily] do not argue with each other."

• On the twenty fifth, at the hour of the Dragon [7 A.M.], the leader of the service in the morning session, Juchō of the Tendai school, lectured on the eighth volume [of the *Lotus Sūtra*]. The respondent was Chūsan of the Hossō school.

After the morning session, the respondent was summoned into the Archery

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[19] 嘱累品 *zokuruihon*. The twenty-second chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* (Taisho, vol. 9, No. 26: 21-62.). "*Zokurui*" means "transmission, attachment, or entrustment." In this chapter, the Buddha entrusts the teaching of the *Lotus Sūtra* to the audience to propagate of the *sūtra*. See Shioiri Ryōdō, "The Meaning of the Formation and Structure of the *Lotus Sūtra*," in *The Lotus Sūtra in Japanese Culture*, George J. Tanabe, Jr., and Willa Jane Tanabe, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 29.

Rooms.[20] The head chamberlain, Lord Nobumitsu,[21] said, "Your argument during this morning's session was superb. Your argument met the demand of his Highness and he was extremely impressed. [The emperor has requested] that you serve [as the respondent] again during the debate in the evening session. [The emperor] also requests that you add a section on Buddhist logic.[22] His Highness, however, would like you to leave out the profound details of the argument for the sake of the audience. <These were the requests of the emperor.>

> The leader of the service in the evening session, Shōgu of the Tendai school, lectured on the *Fugen-gyō*.[23] The respondent was Chūsan, having been reappointed at the request of his Highness.

At this point, the Precept Master Kanri stated, "Buddhist logic is very subtle and profound, and it is too difficult for the audience to understand. I would like to request [your Highness] to exclude the section on Buddhist logic [from the debate]." Shortly, [his Highness] told the assembly to exclude the section of Buddhist logic. The debate continued and the argument touched upon the

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20弓場殿 *yubadono*. A room at the northeastern corner of the Palace Archives (校書殿 Kyōshoden) in the inner palace (*dairi*).

21蔵人頭延光朝臣 *kurōdo no kashira*, Nobumitsu *ason*.

22因明 *inmyō* (study of reasoning). Doctrinal discussion based on the formal procedures of argumentation, which consists of a proposition (宗 *shū*), a inference (因 *in*) and a metaphor (喩 *yu*).

23普賢経 or *Kanfugen-gyō* (観普賢經: C. *Kuan p'u hsien ching*). Taisho, vol. 9, No. 277: 389-394. One of the three principal *sūtras* of the Tendai school. The *sūtra* is considered to be the conclusion of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

issue whether a sentient being of no-nature exits or not. Chūsan immediately quoted Ryōgen's arguments of two days earlier, including his interpretation of the passage on the universal possession of buddha-nature,[24] on the ideas of the three [essential] vows of the bodhisattva and the four salvific methods of the bodhisattva.[25] He made counter arguments against each of Ryōgen's statements, and scoffed at his every argument. Ryōgen sat with closed mouth and fixed eyes. All the audience both in the upper and lower seats were impressed [by Chūsan's argument]. At last, on the twenty fifth at about midnight, the emperor's statement was handed down to Fuminori.[26] Chūsan was summoned to the seat of his Highness. While all the subjects put the palms of their hands together, the son of heaven presented him with a grail. Chūsan held up the silver [grail] in his hands. The solemn luster [of the grail] shone throughout the palace. Since that time, the Hossō school has permanently maintained its position as the supervisor of the six schools, and it has never been relinquished to another school. In addition, [his Highness] granted to the Hossō school the position of vice supervisor.[27] The banner of the Tendai school, therefore, bent before the wind of Ōwa. Out of the dust of

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24悉有佛性之文 *shitsuu busshō no mon*. The passage in the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (涅般經 *Nehan-gyō*, Taisho, vol. 12, No. 375: 605-852) that states all sentient beings are endowed with the buddha-nature.

25三願四摂 *sangan shishō*. *Sangan* comprises the three fundamental vows common to all bodhisattvas: to awaken sentient beings; to spread Dharma; and to protect Dharma. *Shishō* refers to the four methods which bodhisattvas employ to save sentient beings: giving the gift of Dharma; using kind words; doing beneficial actions; and working together with sentient beings.

26 [藤原]文範 Fujiwara Fuminori. According to the *Jinden ainōshō*, an official of the Ministry of Popular Affairs (Minbushō). See Ozaki Kōjin, *Nihon Tendai rongi shi no kenkyū* (Ōtsu, Shiga: Hokke daie jimukyoku, 1971), 119.

27 権長者 *gon no chōjya.*

Tenryaku, the Hossō school won the debate. For everyone who is able to distinguish right from wrong, it is obvious that the Tendai school clearly lost the debate. Since [the Tendai school] lost the Ōwa debate, it should not be on equal terms with the Hossō school.

応和宗論日記　<付、天台良源、諸宗に遣す消文>

今、応和の宗論の記を勘ふに、我が朝、第六十二代、村上天皇の御宇、応和元<辛酉>夏、四月二十八日、叡岳の良源、清冷殿に参じ、綸言を蒙る之次、六宗の長者、特に法相に付さ被ること、安ぜ不る之旨、奏達す。密に、天気を伺うに、許容、無きに非ず。之に依りて、良源、同年五月十五日、華厳宗の玄慶、三論宗の壱定、と相語りて、天奏を経んと欲す。其の消息状に云く、諸宗、共に真如妙境より出ず。寧ぞ優劣有る哉。然るに智鳳の門葉、殊に、六宗の長官に於て、賞翫を蒙る。安ぜ不る之由、奏ぜ令る之処、頗る許容有り。早く奏聞を経被る可し。良源、敬て白す。<已上>　諸宗、状に依り、各の天奏を経る。華厳宗の奏状、応和元年八月八日を以て、兵部卿親王に付す。三論宗の奏状、同年十月三日を以て、治部卿源朝臣雅信に付す。天台宗の奏状、同年十一月六日を以て、右近中将延光に付す。応和二年三月に至て、宣旨、諸宗に下被りて、云く。申状に依りて、聞食する如く、其の理、無きに非ず。但、宗の浅深に依る可き歟。各の勘文を進めよ。宣旨、下被ると雖、勘文進ま不る之間、応和三年六月五日、重ねて宣旨、下被れて云く、来る十九日、御筆の御経供養あり。宜しく参勤すべし、と。六月十九日、延引し、七月十三日に成る。亦、七月十三日、延引し、八月十一日に至り、左中弁文範朝臣、宣を伝う。左大臣、奉勅し宣く、今月二十一日、庚子、臨時に清冷殿に於て、五箇日、二十口僧<傳>を以て、法華経を談じ、導師をして其の義を釈せ令む。

五箇日之間、都合、十座あり。講聴、各別なり。其の僧名は、

＜三論宗＞観理＜律師、東大寺＞

＜華厳宗＞玄慶＜律師、東大寺＞

＜法相宗＞安秀＜已講、興福寺＞

＜法相宗＞法蔵＜已講、東大寺＞

＜法相宗＞仁賀＜辞退＞

＜法相宗＞湛照＜東大寺＞

＜法相宗＞平州

＜法相宗＞千理＜辞退＞

＜法相宗＞真喜＜興福寺＞

已上、十人。南都、法相、三論、華厳、＜三宗＞

＜天台宗＞禪愉＜延暦寺＞

＜天台宗＞良源＜延暦寺＞

智興

寿肇

＜天台宗＞聖救＜延暦寺＞

＜天台宗＞千観＜辞退＞

＜天台宗＞増賀＜辞退＞

＜天台宗＞余慶

能恵

賀秀

已上、十人。北京、天台宗。

都合、二十人之内、

仁賀、千理、千観、増賀。　四人＜辞退＞

仁賀ノ闕　<法相宗>蔵祚<薬師寺>

千理ノ闕　<法相宗>千到<興福寺>

千観ノ闕　崇寿<延暦寺>

増賀ノ闕　覚慶<延暦寺之内>

蔵祚、又、辞退す。其の闕　<三論宗>円芸<東大寺>

二十一日、<巳の刻>発願の導師、観理<無量義　経の理を釈す。>　問者、余慶。

夕座の導師、玄慶<法華経、第一巻を釈す。>　問者、能恵。

二十二日、朝座の導師、安秀<第二巻を釈す。>　問者、賀秀。

夕座<此の時、未の時に始る>の導師、法蔵<法相宗>。　問者、覚慶。

其の第四座之問者の詞に、一分の無性、無かる応き之義、出る。導師、法蔵大法師、詞鋒、森然として、敢て寸揚すること無し。釈経之詞、稍、群萃を挺す。公卿已下、感抃、余り有り。爰に、天台、良源、横に、一分の無性、無かる可き之義を述ぶ。論、二宗に於て盛りにて、時、已に戌四点に及ぶ。衆会之疲労を思う為、導師、其の由を以て述して、返答を為さ不、次日に到りて之に答ふと。

二十三日、<巳の刻>朝座の導師、良源<第四巻を釈す。>

問者、宣旨に依て、平州、問者と為る。良源、経を釈す之間、感激、極り無く、王公卿等、悲泣せ不る莫し。問答往復之間、時、已に、未四点に及ぶ。此の間、法蔵大法師、昨日の答を出す。

夕座の導師、禪愉<第五巻を釈す。>　問者、千到<請を闕く。>

二十四日、朝座の導師、智興＜第六巻を釈す。＞　問者、真喜＜登、有り＞

夕座の導師、澁照＜第七巻を釈す。＞　問者、崇寿＜請を闕く。＞

夕座、第八座に当りて、二條、問ふ。導師、進て云く、嘱累品なり、嘱累品は、問者、諸僧、諍論を致さ不と。

二十五日、＜辰の刻＞朝座の導師、寿肇、＜天台宗＞＜第八巻を釈す。＞　問者、仲算＜法相宗＞

朝座の事、畢りて之後、問者、弓場殿に召さる。蔵人の頭、延光朝臣の仰せに云く、今朝の論議、甚だ優れたりと謂ふ可し。事、叡慮に叶へり。頗る感歎を致す。須く夕座の論議、重て、以て、奉仕すべし。其の中に、因明の一条を加問す可し。但し、深義を省き、視聴に近からんことを欲する者なり。＜是、帝王の仰せナリ＞。

夕座の導師、聖求＜天台宗＞＜普賢経を釈す。＞　問者、仲算＜宣旨に寄り、重役と為。＞

爰に、律師、観理、奏して云く。因明者、義旨幽微にして、猶、視聴し難し。望む也、因明を停め被れよ。即ち、座中に於て、仰せに云く、因明、停める可き者なり。問答往復之間、論、一分の無性に及ぶ。仲算、則ち、前日、良源の出す所の悉有佛性之文、三願四摂之證を牒し、一々之を難じ、各の之を嘲す。　良源、口を杜し、目を瞩し、座す。殿上、階下、感動せ不る莫し。遂に、二十五日中、夜半に至りて、勅旨、文範之所に下る。仲算、玉床之下に召され、群臣、合掌し、天子、坏を勧む。是に於て、仲算、銀器を掌中に挙げ、威儀、鳳闕に於て、光る。爾自り以来、六宗の長官、永く法相之宗に留り、更に他宗に移ら不。兼ねて、法相宗、権長者に補す可き之宣旨を下被る。爾る若くば、応和の風に、天台の旗、靡き、天暦之塵、法相、論に克つ。若し、時の邪正を明かさば、天台の堕負と謂う可き也。何ぞ、応和の論談を失して、法相と、同日ならん。

Invocation of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen

Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō

天台座主良源起請

Invocation of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen

Ryōgen, abbot [of the Tendai school], a minor bishop of the lower rank,[1] a master of the Dharma-eye,[2] sincerely calls [all buddhas, bodhisattvas, and guardian deities of Mount Hiei] to witness this invocation. In order to uphold the Dharma forever, I intend to establish the following twenty six articles on various issues [regarding the conduct of priests at Mount Hiei].

1. The chief administrator[3] supervising the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics[4] is prohibited from providing gifts of clothing[5] at the service and from holding

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1 権小僧都 *gon shosōzu*. A rank within the superintending clergy. Ryōgen was granted this title in 968.

2 法眼和尚 *hōgen kashō*. A honorary priestly rank (*sōi*) which the imperial court conferred on priests for their scholarship and other virtuous deeds. Equivalent to a bishop (*sōzu*) of the superintending clergy (*sōgō*).

3 別当 *bettō*.

4 舎利会 *sharie*. This service was introduced to Mount Hiei by Ennin in 860.

5 被物 *katsukemono*.

a reception for the administrating officers[6] [of the temple] before and after the service.

At the above mentioned assembly, the chief administrator is prohibited from holding receptions for the temple administrators and other officiants who are in charge of the service[7] on the day for nominating the attendants of the service[8] and after the official announcement closing the service. It is also forbidden to provide gift of clothing and other presents[9] to them. From now on the prohibition will be strictly enforced by law. In order to maintain this great Assembly forever, the chief administrator of the service should remember every year the meaning of the rule. Offerings for the attendants of the service are, however, exempted from this restriction, because offerings are the rewards for their participation. Be thrifty and do not waste.

2. The lecturer[10] of the Assembly in the Sixth Month[11] is prohibited from

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6所司 *shoshi*. General term for the three main administrating positions of a temple: *jōza*, a senior supervisor of the clerical affairs; *jishu*, a temple master; and *tsuina*, chief director of the clerical affairs. Also called *sangō*.

7堂達、綱維 *dōtatsu, kōi*. *Kōi* is the title given to directors of the ceremony and other temple administratiors. *Dōtatsu* refer to assistants of *kōi*.

8色衆(職衆) *shikishū*. Priests who are in charge of chanting the hymns (*bonbai*) and flower offering ceremony (*sange*) during the service.

9被物、曳物 *katsukemono, hikimono.*

10講師 *kōshi.*

11六月会 *minazukie*. An annual memorial service for Saichō (the fourth day of the sixth month) at Enryakuji. This was a five-day lecture series on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*hokke-e*) commemorating the accomplishments of Saichō, the founder of the Japanese Tendai school. A doctrinal debate (*ryūgi*) on the last day of the service was introduced in 847. In 966 the imperial court sanctioned the *ryūgi* as an official doctrinal debate of the state, and named it Doctrinal

holding a reception for the audience and the administrating officers [of the service].

Our wise predecessors started the above mentioned Assembly to commemorate the compassionate deeds of our great master [Saichō]. The reception for the priests invited to the Assembly should be handled by the temple administrators. The invited priests should concentrate on the discussion concerning the deep meaning expounded in the *sūtra*. In the old days, only plain tea was served to quench the thirst of the guests. Simple refreshments were served to the priests in charge of the protocol of ceremony.[12] Nowadays, however, the lecturer does not work on the scriptural exegesis. Instead, he focuses on ways to entertain the audience. Bowls of offerings arrive like clouds that cover the peaks of [Mount Hiei] from east to west. Tasty food fill the residences of masters and guests. Venerable priests are invited to the guest house. A feast every morning makes them forget the taste of pine needles. A flock of sages is led to private parties. A reception with a strong scent of boiling tea every evening surprises them. People wait for the evening of the seventh day, when the lectures on the triple *sūtras*[13] [of Hokke] are completed. Venerable priests gather together like flocking pigeons. They peck at all kinds of delicacies. Famous priests waddle like a parade of

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Discussion Meeting of Learned Scholars (*kōgaku ryūgi*) at the request of Ryōgen. See Takagi Yutaka, *Heian jidai Hokke Bukkyōshi kenkyū*, 37.

[12]威儀僧 *igisō*.

[13]三經 *sangyō*. The three principal *sūtras* of the Tendai school. They are the *Muryōgikyō* (Taisho, vol. 9, No. 276: 383-389), the *Lotus Sūtra* (Taisho, vol. 9, No. 26: 21-62) and *Kanfugen-gyō* (Taisho, vol. 9, No. 277: 389-394).

wild geese. Strange ornaments glow in their palms. Although it is wonderful to receive offerings from the Buddha and *saṃgha,* the valleys and peaks [of Mount Hiei] lament this present condition which is very wasteful. The officiants are assigned to their duty by turns, not by their virtues. The officiants have to avoid waste while they are on duty. Therefore, henceforth, [during the period of the service] the custom of catering food bowls, cooking food, providing breakfast every morning and dinner during the six evenings are all prohibited. If someone unexpectedly receives gifts such as paper, brush, tea, or fans, he is required to surrender them at the lecture of the fifth volume [of the Lotus Sūtra]. By adding these offerings of gifts to the Buddha along with the harmonious chants praising the Buddha, he will multiply virtues received from the service. Do not ask for gifts if you do not receive any. The spirit of the great Assembly, however, should be maintained as usual. Therefore, the temple administrators are allowed to raise a small amount of funds sufficient to meet the needs of the lecturers. Or they are allowed to encourage devout families to practice the spirit of offering. I heartily urge the venerable priests selected [to participate in this service] to concentrate on lectures the *sūtra* expounding the superior principles in order to propagate the joy of the Dharma promoted by the great master [Saichō]. Do not attend this service for minor purposes and the same mental attitude of lay persons.

3. The respondent of the doctrinal debate[14] at the Assembly [in the Sixth Month] is prohibited from preparing food bowls, serving tea, and making

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[14] 立義者 *ryūgisha.*

offerings to the priests in charge of the protocol of ceremony.

The respondent of the doctrinal debate at the Assembly [in the Sixth Month] is appointed sometimes according to seniority in the monastic order, although sometimes the appointment does not follow seniority. If the appointee has many disciples and attendants,[15] there is no problem in handling the situation. If the appointee is, however, an independent serene priest with only a few attendants, [he would be intimidated to accept this appointment for fear that] he might lose face because he could not serve priests in the Assembly well. In terms of scholarship, the academic excellence of the appointees should be equal regardless of their seniority. Whether intimidated or relaxed, all appointees [to the position of respondent to the doctrinal debate] are equally qualified scholars. Therefore, the customs of catering bowls of food, serving tea, and having receptions for the priests in charge of the protocol of ceremony are all prohibited. But the appointee to the seat of the respondent of the Doctrinal Discussion Meeting of Learned Scholars[16] is chosen from among selected [Tendai scholars]. Hence, he is not necessarily restricted by this rule. Do not waste, be thrifty. The promotion of the respondent is solely determined by his performance in the doctrinal

[15]相問者 *sōmonjya.*

[16]広学竪義 *kōgaku ryūgi*. Official doctrinal debate annually held at Enryakuji on the memorial day of Saichō (the fourth day of the sixth month). First *kōgaku ryūgi* was held in 968.

debate. Although the imperial order[17] says "one has to be a learned scholar[18] [in Buddhology]," students should not wait for the next life[19] to attend the doctrinal debate[20] at the Assembly. As a horse [runs] like a dragon,[21] [young and bright students] who wish to advance their academic careers must study hard even under the light of fire flies [during summer] and under the reflection of the moon on the snow [during winter].[22]

4. The lecturer of the Assembly in the Eleventh Month[23] is forbidden to prepare food, serve tea an make offerings to the priests in charge of the protocol of ceremony.

The above mentioned prohibitions to [the lecturer of the Assembly in the Eleventh Month] are the same as in the former articles. But the lecturer is not prohibited from holding an inner-palace [style] doctrinal debate[24] that encourages scholars aspiring for enlightenment. The respondent who has

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17綸旨 *rinji*. Issued on the twenty sixth day of the twelfth month in 966.

18広学 *kōgaku*.

19他生 *tashō*.

20寺議 *jigi*.

21龍駒 *ryūku*.

22蛍雪 *keisetsu*.

23 十一月会 *shimotsukie*. Annual memorial service for Chih-i (Chigi), the founder of Tendai school in China, held at Enryakuji on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month. Saichō introduced this service by in 801. This was a five-day set of lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*hokke taie*) with an doctrinal debate (*ryūgi*) on the last day of the service.

24 内論議 *uchirongi*. A doctrinal debate in the same style as one was held in the imperial palace (内 *uchi*) at the end of the Imperial Assembly (*misaie*, 御斎会).

successfully completed his duty in this doctrinal debate is given priority for the nomination to the seats of the doctrinal debates[25] for the next year. This has been the custom since the first year of Anna [968]. The custom is endorsed as a permanent rule. The priest who has demonstrated his excellence in *sūtra* lectures and doctrinal interpretation at the Assembly is promoted to a higher academic position regardless of his seniority in the monastic order. A priest who wishes to advance his academic career swiftly should devote himself to study.

5. The lecturer of the Retreat during the rainy season[26] is prohibited from holding a reception for the administrating officers [of the service].

The above mentioned prohibition is the same as in the former articles. The purpose for having a lecture meeting during the summer is for the protection of the state and for a good harvest. The appointee should concentrate on lecturing on the teachings of the *sūtra* and expounding on the essence of the doctrine. Lecturers, however, in recent years are only interested in advancing their careers and do not understand the true meaning of the teaching. They deserve to be reprimanded because of the inefficacy of their prayers. Once a priest is appointed to the seat [of lecturer], he should study the triple *sūtra* [of Hokke] single-mindedly. On the day the lecture begins, on the morning that

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25立義 *ryūgi.*

26安居 *ango.* Peaceful dwelling. *Vārṣika* in Sanskrit. Traditionally, in India *Vārṣika* begins on the sixteenth day of the fourth month and continues for three months until the fifteenth day of the seventh month. During this period priests confined themselves at their monastery for study and meditative practices.

he goes up to the mountain, the lecturer should examine the words of the *sūtra* from the title to the scroll's shaft. The lecturer should discuss the details of the *sūtra* without failing to expound on the essence of the doctrinal principles as well. Externally, he must sever attachment to the secular affairs, and, internally, conquer mental distractions in order to pray for the year's good harvest and to pledge protection for the state. To expect a sea-like-clouds harvest in the autumn, we need to spray a thick mist of *sūtra* lectures during the summer. Once the virtue of conventional truth is settled, the merit of absolute truth to be revealed. But if the twofold truth of reality[27] is not sustained [during the summer retreat], the ninety days [of the Retreat] are simply a waste of time.

6. Priests are prohibited from wearing wooden clogs in temple buildings.

Priests must wear straw sandals in temple buildings. This is the rule in accordance with the precepts since the ancient period. Priests in recent years, however, often wear wooden clogs [in temple buildings]. This goes against traditional custom. People tend to forget the traditional style. Thoughtful priests are all lamenting [this neglect of tradition]. This custom is now confirmed as a rule. In the residential quarters or on visiting the temple buildings, priests must wear straw sandals. When a priest comes from outside

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[27] 二諦 *nitai*. Absolute truth (*shintai*; Sanskrit, *paramārtha-satya*) and conventional truth (*zokutai*; Sanskrit *saṃvṛti-satya*), the super-mundane truth of Buddhism (*shōgei*) and the mundane realities of everyday life (*sezoku*). Tendai doctrine speaks of the understanding of the single unity of the Middle way (*chūdō*) ultimately as the identity of the two truths, that is, of the identity of absolute truth or the emptiness (*śūnyata*) of all existent things with that of mudane truth or the conventional conventional reality of their co-arising phenomena.

of the temple buildings, he must change to clean sandals for use inside the temple buildings. Inside the Buddha halls, however, straw sandals are not allowed. This issue is confirmed by the *sūtras* and texts on precepts.[28] One should follow the rule accordingly. A priest who does not follow this rule will not be allowed to sit in the section of a priest,[29] but will be seated instead as a novice.[30]

7. A priest who buys ritual articles[31] at an auction[32] and does not meet the date of payment will be expelled from the *saṃgha*.[33]

Orders to punish a priest who buys ritual articles at an auction and does not meet the date of payment has been issued repeatedly—eight or nine times—in the saṃgha since the first year of Jōgan [859]. We must rethink the current condition [of the saṃgha]. *Saṃgha*[34] means of 'harmony and mutual respect' and the proper conduct[35] is the 'pure and serene Dharma.' In principle the price of the articles should be determined by their actual value.

28經、律 *kyō, ritsu*. *Sūtra* and *vinaya*.

29僧座 *sōza*.

30沙彌 *shami*.

31羯磨物 *konmamotsu*. *Konmamotsu* are the ritual articles required to conduct ceremonies concerning transmission of the precepts. See Hirabayashi Moritoku, *Ryōgen*, 110.

32競留 *keiru*.

33衆断 *shūdan*.

34僧伽 *sōgya*. A company of monks. A Buddhist order.

35羯磨 *konma*. *Karman* in Sanskrit. Proper conduct in accordance with precepts.

Also one should have the funds first before purchasing them, and then buy the articles at auction. But some priests do not care about price because they covet the articles. <Even though the value of an article is only one or two *kan*,[36] [a buyer] tends to raise the price by two, three, four *sen* without being aware of it [at the auction], because the mind [of the buyer] is attached to the article out of his intense greed for the object.> Some priests bid a higher price [than the actual value] without concern for their loss [of money], because they wish to be ostentatious to others. <Some priests raise the price [at an auction] as if they were playing a game, even though they do not need the article. They compete with other priests who really need the articles on sale. At the auction, however, the former type of priest thinks while bidding on the price, "I am a leader. I have to beat him because his rank is lower than mine." Because of his conceit, he buys cheap articles at a high price ignoring the later loss of money.> After he wins the price competition, however, the excitement in his mind created by his greed and conceit gradually fades away. He begins to regret the high price [he bid]. Some return the auctioned article. Some do not pay. In some cases, a priest simply orders the articles without preparing funds to buy them so does not have sufficient money to pay for them after he has recieved the articles. He delays the payment for months or, sometimes, even years. If the payment received for articles [sold at the auction] is to be added to the funds of the resident priests[37] [at the temple which held the auction], a priest who does not receive payment on time [for an article he

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36貫 *kan*. A unit of coinage. One *kan* is equivalent of one thousand copper coins (*mon*).

37大衆 *daishū*.

sold] will be impeached by the assistant temple administrators.[38] If the [defaulted] payment for the article is to be applied to the funds for repair [of the temple], the workers for the priests have to suspend their construction work. [Delaying, or not paying one's dues] is an act against the principle [of Dharma]. [The priest who commits this act] should be punished. In order to control the mind of greed and conceit, I reiterate this rule to confirm the process of auction. Once an article is bought, the payment must be delivered before the due date without any alteration of conditions or price even though the price is bid carelessly or the item is bought mistakenly. As for the terms of payment, see the order issued on the fifteenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of Jōgan [859]. Here, the terms are determined according to the order [of 859]. Payment must be delivered within five days if the purchase is over five *kan*, within seven days if the purchase is over ten *kan*, within ten days if the purchase is over twenty *kan*, and within fifteen days if the purchase is over thirty *kan*. Anyone who violates this order is to be permanently expelled from the *saṃgha* in accordance with to the orders issued reiterated in Jōgan,[39] Kampyō,[40] Shōtai,[41] Enchō,[42] and Tengyō[43] eras. There are no exceptions to this rule. An administrating officer who falsely claims the unpaid due as paid on behalf of the debtor is also to be prosecuted according to the order issued

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38堂達 *dōtatsu.*

39貞観 859-877.

40寛平 889-898.

41昌泰 898-901.

42延長 923-931.

43天慶 938-947.

on the twelfth day of the seventh month of the fifth year of Tengyō [942].

8. A priest who does not attend *upavasata*[44] will be expelled from *saṃgha* for three years.

The above mentioned *upavasata* means 'serene dwelling,'[45] and *saṃgha* means 'harmonious meeting.'[46] [Virocana] on the lotus seat[47] becomes your master, manifesting an incarnation [of Śākyamuni] on the day of [*upavasata*]. *Prātimokṣa* rules[48] [taught by Śākyamuni] guide you to ultimate truth [during the *upavasata*]. Therefore, one petal of [the lotus] flower is linked to ten billion buddhas, and ten thousand leaves continuously turn into the three thousand different modes of existence [in the universe]. As a result, the light of the precepts[49] radiate from the priest's mouth twice a month and leads him toward enlightenment moment by moment.[50] Hence, once a priest has accepted the bodhisattva precepts, he must come to the assembly hall and

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44布薩 *fusatsu*. An assembly of priests held twice a month (15th and 30th days of the lunar calender) during which precepts are recited and transgressions of them were repented by each attendant.

45浄住 *jōjū*.

46和合 *wagō*.

47蓮台 *rendai*.

48木叉 *mokusha*, or *haradai mokusha*. A collective noun for the individual articles of precepts (*śila*).

49戒光 *kaikō*.

50Descriptions above are rendered from the opening of the second volume of the *Bonmōkyō* (*Brahma-net Sūtra*) in which bodhisattva precepts are expounded. Taishō 24, 1003c-1004b

attend the service on every *upavasata* day. Moreover, a priest must not neglect this duty, especially when his turn comes to officiate at the service. But some priests upon seeing the letter of summons, will not sign it to indicate their acceptance. Some priests sign the letter, but still fail to officiate at the service. This is a serious act of negligence to one's duty toward the administration office of the temple[51] and an act against the strict rules established by the World Honored [Buddha].[52] From now on, a priest who fails to attend the service is expelled [from the *saṃgha*] for three years. This [misconduct of a priest] has never been allowed. But a priest who is physically unable to recite the precepts,[53] to chant the hymns[54] or to officiate at the service[55] can request that a substitute who is skilled in these rituals perform these functions for him while he listens. The original appointee, however, is also required to attend the service with the substitute priest.

9. A priest, after accepting the precepts on the ordination platform, must attend the assembly hall for *upavasata*[56] and continuously practice to recite the precepts, chant the hymns, and officiate at the service.

51寺家 *jike*.

52世尊 *seson*. In Sanskrit, *bhagavat* or world honored one. An epithet for Śākyamuni Buddha.

53誦戒 *jukai*.

54梵唄 *bonbai*.

55維那 *ina*, or *tsuina*. In Sanskrit, *karma-dāna*. Clerical duties in a temple or those who are in charge of them.

56布薩堂 *fusatsudō*.

The above mentioned issue is stated in the [*Brahma-net*] *sūtra*:[57] "A priest who has received the bodhisattva precepts yet does not recite these precepts is neither a bodhisattva nor a seed which becomes a buddha."[58] The sutra also states, "A disciple of the Buddha who observes the precepts while walking, standing, sitting, and lying during the six periods in the day and night is [indestructible] like *vajra*.[59] The disciple is able to swim across the ocean like [a fish] with an air bladder."[60] The *sūtra* also states, "A bodhisattva newly admitted to the order is required to recite the ten major precepts and the forty eight minor precepts on the day of *upavasata*. One priest leads the recitation [of the precepts] at *upavasata* attended by only one priest. At *upavasata* attended by two, three, or even a hundred thousand priests, still one priest leads the recitation."[61] <*Upavasata* is to be held in accordance with the number of resident priests of a temple.> Wise people of ancient times, in order to confirm their faith in the words of the Buddha, did not forget to recite [the precepts] and to attend without fail every meeting. Some disciples of Śākyamuni in recent years do not observe the precepts, do not study [the precepts], and do not attend the service [on *upavasata*]. The great tradition of *upavasata* will soon become extinct [if the current situation continues]. Since

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57梵網経 *Bonmōkyō* (*Brahma-net Sūtra*). A *sūtra* expounded the Mahāyāna bodhisattva precepts. A Chinese text in two volumes in Taisho, vol. 24, 997-1010.

58Taisho, vol. 24, 1004b.

59金剛 *kongō*.

60Taisho, vol. 24, 1007b.

61Ibid., 1008a.

Śākyamuni's *parinirvāṇa,*[62] saints and wise people have passed away one after another. For disciples of the Buddha during the Semblance and the Last Dharma ages,[63] only *śīla*[64] become their masters. If the tradition of *upavasata* becomes extinct, who can guide [the *saṃgha*]? All priests in the great assembly, as well as scholars, should understand the significance [of the precepts], earnestly recite and study them on every occasion, and also encourage others to recite and study them in order to uphold forever the Dharma in the world. A priest who has a newly awakened the aspiration for Bodhi and accepts the precepts[65] should resolved to recite the precepts from the first day [he receives them] on the ordination platform.

10. A priest must practice the methods of chanting *sūtras* and singing gathas properly at services.

As mentioned above, many priests do not practice the methods for chanting, singing and performing rituals at the ceremonies. [Among these are] priests

62帰寂 *kijaku*. Complete *nirvāṇa*. Death of Śākyamuni Buddha.

63像末 *zōmastu*. The semblance (*zōbō*) and the last Dharma (*mappō*) ages. A Buddhist theory of history that most likely developed and became popular in East Asia. The semblance Dharma age beginning 500 (or 1000) years after the death of Śākyamuni Buddha and lasting 1000 (or 500) years during which the teaching of the Buddha was practiced but enlightenment was no longer possible in this world. The last Dharma age is the period after *zōbō*, during which only the teaching of the Buddha remained but practice and enlightenment are no longer possible. For the development of this idea, see Jan Nattier, *Once upon a Future Time, Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley, California: Asian Humanity Press, 1991).

64尸羅 *shira*. Individual articles of the precepts.

65戒品 *kaibon*.

in charge of ceremonial walking[66] at the new year service[67] and the second month service;[68] priests in charge of chanting,[69] singing,[70] and playing ringing instruments[71] at the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics, priests in charge of chanting at the service for the Great Masters[72] [of Tendai school] on the sixteenth day of the seventh month [for Saichō and Ennin][73] and the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month [for Chih-i]; priests in charge of chanting at the *abhiṣeka* ceremony;[74] and priests in charge of the ceremony on the day of the lecture of the fifth fascicle [of the *Lotus Sūtra*] at the Assemblies for the *Lotus Sūtra*[75] in the sixth month and the eleventh month, etc. They keep their mouths shut during the service. A few of them occasionally open their mouths, but they have not learned these rituals adequately from their masters, and the audience ridicules [their chanting for being out of tune]. Above all, priests who are in charge of the ceremony

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66行道衆 *gyōdōshū.*

67修正 *shushō.* 修正会 *shushōe.*

68二月 *nigatsu.* 修二会 *shunie.* 二月会 *nigatsue.*

69讃 *san.*

70梵音 *bonnon.*

71錫杖 *shakujō.* A staff with metal rings on the top.

72大師供 *daishiku.* The service to commemorate the Tendai masters with a posthumous title of *daishi* (Great Master) conferred by the emperor.

73The commemorative day on which titles of the Great Master were given to both Saichō (Dengyō *daishi*) and Ennin (Jikaku *daishi*) in 856 for the first time in Japan.

74灌頂 *kanjō.* A esoteric Buddhist ceremony transmitting mystic teachings or merits to a person.

75法華会 *hokke'e.*

celebrated on the night of [their master's] *abhiṣeka* ceremony should at least recite the first three articles, even if they are not able to memorize all nine articles. But they often recite only the first article. They mumble the rest along with the sound of cymbals. How sad indeed that the great path has declined so far. From now on, every priest must practice each ritual carefully under the guidance of a skilled master [of ritual]. A priest who receives a letter of summons to one of the above mentioned services must start practicing how to perform the [rituals] and how to recite the [texts] while walking, standing, sitting, and lying. On the day of the service, he should be able to recite [the text] without pause and inspire the audience with a feeling of joyful. <Listed are praising, singing, sprinkling flower, chanting, etc., a ceremony to welcome the chief priest of the service or a ceremony to praise the master of service, etc.>

11. A priest should attend the services observing the transmission of the Dharma, or other *sūtra* lectures without fail.

The above stated article is based on the *Brahma-net sūtra* which states, "A disciple of the Buddha should attend the lectures on *vinaya*[76] on every available occasion. Newly aspired bodhisattvas should visit their Dharma masters[77] bringing the scrolls of the *vinaya* scriptures on with them, and listen [to the lecture] and discuss [the Dharma]. They should listen to lectures

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76毘尼経律 *binikyōritsu*. A collection of precepts. A collection of Buddhist scriptures which contains rules of conduct and disciplinary codes.

77法師 *hosshi*.

on the Dharma at every available opportunity, regardless of whether it is held on a mountain, in the woods, underneath a tree, on an estate of the *saṃgha* or at a residence of a priest."[78] Various other *sūtras* and commentaries also expound the same idea. Disciples of Śākyamuni in ancient times all observed the words [of the *sūtra*]. They always went and listened to all available Dharma lectures. But in recent years, there are no listeners at the services observing the transmission of the Dharma, at *sūtra* lectures and at doctrinal debates other than the priests who are summoned. These priests not only ignore the precepts established by the Well-Gone [Buddha],[79] but they also lose the opportunity to attain wisdom in the future. Disciples of Śākyamuni who appreciate the joy of the Dharma should earnestly study the teachings, and without fail attend the court where disciples observe the transmission of the Dharma, *sūtra* lectures or the sites where doctrinal debates to listen [to the Dharma] in order to preserve the Dharma, so that their wisdom will mature. Do not be lazy, and do not forget this.

12. [Administrators] must carefully select a person capable of receiving the Dharma[80] as candidate for the yearly ordinand.

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[78]Taisho, vol. 24, 1005b-c.

[79]善逝 *zenzei*. In Sanskrit, *sugata*. An epithet for Śākyamuni Buddha.

[80]法器 *hōki*.

The above mentioned article is based on the eight articles of regulation,[81] issued by the great master [Saichō] on the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month of the ninth year of Kōnin [818]. [Saichō] states, "A candidate [for the yearly ordinand][82] must complete six years of course work before he is eligible to take the qualifying examination.[83]"[84] The regulation also states, "A candidate [for the yearly ordinand] whose character is not in accordance with the Dharma and who does not follow the rules sanctioned by the order will be reported to the state office and will be subject to replacement [by another person]."[85] Considering current state of affairs, the six years of course work requirement has not been in effect for long, and it is not realistic to reinforce the curriculum as it was originally designed. But the administration is able to carefully select a candidate whose character is in accordance with [the Dharma] and who is both talented and knowledgeable. Without careful selection, you can not find the right person. Therefore, within the space of a year or two, an unqualified student should be terminated. Included in the same regulation [of eight articles issued by Saichō is the requirement that], a

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81八箇条式 *hachikajōshiki*. Full title is the *Kanshō Tendaishū nenbun gakushō shiki* (Regulations to encourage Tendai's yearly ordinand students), or commonly called *Hachijōshiki*. Text is available in *Dengyōdaishi zenshū*, vol. 1 (Ōtsu, Shiga: Hieizan toshokankōkai, 1927), 13-16. For the analysis and complete translation of the articles, see Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 130-137.

82得業 *tokugō*.

83試業 *shigō*.

84The first article of the *Hachijōshiki*. *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, 3-4.

85The third article of the *Hachijōshiki*. *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, 4.

student must practice the four *samādhi* practices[86] during his required twelve years of residence on Mount Hiei. In recent years, however, students only practice constant practice *samādhi*.[87] The reason for serious decline of the [three types of] *samādhi* practices is simply that the administration is not selective of students on the day of the qualifying examination. Wise thinkers who follow the Dharma should understand the meaning of this article and carefully select persons as candidate for the yearly ordinand who are capable of receiving the Dharma.[88] The ideal candidate is between the ages of fourteen and twenty years. He should not have uncomely appearance, and his mind is healthy and body should be strong enough to endure in meditative practices.[89]

13. A priest who is under the [twelve years of] confined practice on Mount [Hiei][90] is not allowed beyond the confines of the mountain. <The eastern limit is Hiden, the southern limit is Hannyaji, the western limit is Mizunomi, and the northern limit is Ryōgon'in.[91] [The confined practitioner] is not allowed to cross these borders.>

86四種三昧 *shishu-zanmai*. Four kind of meditative practices established in the Tendai school.

87常行三昧 *jōgyō-zanmai*. A constant meditative practice for a period of 90 days, during which a practitioner circumambulates a statue of Amida Buddha while reciting Amida's name and meditating upon Amida.

88得分 *tokubun*.

89禪行 *zengyō*.

90籠山 *rōzan*.

91See a map, "Mount Hiei," in Appencides.

The above mentioned article is based on the aforementioned [eight articles of] regulation [issued by Saichō] which states, "A candidate who [has completed the requirements to be a yearly ordinand and] has received the full precepts[92] is not allowed for twelve years to cross the gate of the mountain [to leave the temple]. He is required to devote himself to study and practice [during this period]. During the first six years he must focuses primarily on listening to the Dharma cultivating wisdom, and the practice of contemplative meditation is secondary. In a day's curriculum, two-thirds of study is devoted to Buddhology[93] and one-third to other subjects.[94] Delivering an extensive lecture[95] [on scriptures] is his practice, and expounding the gift of the Dharma[96] [of scriptures through chanting, etc.] is his action. During the next six years, he primarily practices contemplative meditation, and secondarily he focuses on listening to the Dharma to cultivate his wisdom. A student whose major is [Tendai] exoteric doctrine based on the *Makashikan*[97] must practice the four *samādhi* practices. A student whose major is the esoteric practice based on the *Dai-birushana-kyō* [98] must practice contemplation and recitation

92大戒 *daikai.*

93 内学 *naigaku.*

94外学 *gegaku.* Although Saichō did not list specific titles of non-Buddhist subjects, he expected Tendai students to be literate in Chinese classics. See Paul Groner, *Saichō,* 133.

95長講 *jōkō.*

96法施 *hōse.*

97止観業 *shikangō.*

98遮那業 *shanagō.*

according to the three divisions[99] [of esoteric practices]."[100] In the regulation, "the gate of the mountain" refers to the internal the confines[101] [of Mount Hiei]. But in recent years, [the administrators] hear that [some yearly ordinands] go to Ōhara or others go to Ono freely and without hesitation by crossing the border of the confines in four directions [before they have completed their twelve years of confined practice on Mount Hiei].[102] [Student misconduct] occur because their masters neither observe the regulation issued by the great master [Saichō] nor discipline the unlawful conduct of their disciples. From now on, [the administration] will strictly reinforce the prohibition. [An yearly ordinand who has not completed his twelve years of residence practice on Mount Hiei] who habitually leaves the confines will be immediately expelled [from the monastery]. Furthermore, [a yearly ordinand] must learn to cultivate wisdom through disciplined listening, contemplation, and practice according to the regulation [issued by Saichō] during both six-year periods [of residence practice on Mount Hiei].

99三部念誦 *sanbunenju*. The meaning of the "three division (*sanbu*)" is, however, not clear. Saichō may refer either to the three divisions the Taizōkai: Buddha, Lotus, and Diamond, or it could be the three sūtras of esoteric Buddhism Saichō mentioned in the *Hieizan tendai hokkein tokugō gakushōshiki*: *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (Taisho, vol. 18, No. 848), *Kujaku-kyō* (Taisho, vol. 19, No. 982) and *Shugokokkaishiudaranikyō* (Taisho, vol. 19, No. 997). After Ennin introduced Soshitsujihō, the three divisions in the Tendai esotercism generally refer to the three great esoteric practices (*sanbu daihō*): Kongōkai, Taizōkai, and Soshitsujihō. See Paul Groner, *Saichō*, 133.

100The fourth article of the *Hachijōshiki*. *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, 4.

101結界 *kekkai*.

102See a map, "Mount Hiei," in Appencides.

14. A junior priest is forbidden to dress in prohibited colors.[103]

The above mentioned article is based on the aforementioned [the eight articles of] regulation [issued by Saichō] which states, "The Dharma-robes[104] for winter and summer will be obtained through alms-begging from various donors according to Mahāyāna teachings, in order to cover the body, which requires [many things] to support it[105] and to prevent the priest from neglecting his work. A thatched roof hut is his residential quarter and bamboo leaves are his seat. The Dharma should have priority over the life style. Thus, forever upholding the Dharma, we will protect the state."[106] But time has passed, and society has changed. [Priests] do not observe regulations, they have abandoned the thatched huts, and they are reluctant to wear robes patched with scraps of cloth.[107] The buildings [on Mount Hiei] are gorgeously adorned and they [sit] high above the clouds. Patterned silks and the fragrance of incense waft in the [mountain] wind. The luxurious life style on the mountain deserves public criticism. In the first place, there is no residence of priests, either on the peak or in the valley which does not enshrine an image of the Buddha or dedicate [a shelf] to the scriptures. Although [the ceiling is] high and [the room is] spacious, still, [the resident priests] should adjust their

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103禁色 *kinjiki.*

104法服 *hōfuku.*

105有待の身 *utai no shin.*

106The fifth article of the *Hachijōshiki. Dengyō daishi zenshū,* vol. 1, 5.

107糞掃 *funzō.* In Sanskrit, *pāṃsukūla.*

[life styles to their] environment. A priest should wear just enough available clothes to protect himself from the winter cold and the summer heat. He should not pay attention to the beauty and the style of his clothes. For this purpose, a regulation was issued in the fourth year of Kōho [967] and [an announcement] has been posted at the Constant Practice Hall.[108] [The announcement] contains a detailed account of the regulation. All robes made of patterned silk cloth or embroidered with colorful thread are prohibited. A priest should wear a robe of [simple] color whether it is new or old, rough or fine, depending on whatever is simply available. A priest is not allowed to throw away an old robe or request a new robe or disdain a rugged [patched robe] in favor of a fine [silk robe]. Study earnestly and do not abrogate the rules.

15. A priest who neglects his duty to attend the *sūtra* chanting services, be it either a private or public service, is permanently excluded from all official services.

As mentioned above, faithful patrons,[109] both public officers and private house holders, visit the virtuous Buddha's halls and hold *sūtra* chanting services in order to seek guidance in the perfect teaching of Tendai[110] and to

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108常行堂 *jōgyodō.*

109檀越 *dan'otsu.* In Sanskrit, *dānapati.* A donor.

110天台円教 *Tendai engyō.*

pray for the spiritual power of the deities [of Mount Hiei].[111] An invited priest is expected to be a person who has an unshakable aspiration for the Dharma to benefit others, who always attends the services in the morning and in the evening, devoting himself to contemplation of the words, phrases, and syllables [of the *sūtra*], and revealing the wonderful virtues of the king of the *sūtras* [the *Lotus Sūtra*][112] to satisfy the wishes and vows of donors. But some priests only attend the morning service and not the evening service. Or some priests are only present at the opening session initiating the vow [of a donor] but not present at the session concluding the vow [of a donor]. [The services of these priests] merely exist nominally. Their practices do not reflect the true meaning [of the word 'service']. They are not only disrespectful of the sincere offerings of their donors, but also lack universal compassion.[113] The [bad reputation of some priests] has gone out from the mountain and has already reached the city. Therefore, an order is issued that [priests] must attend the morning and evening services without fail, and must attend the opening session initiating the vow [of a donor] through to the closing session that concludes the vow [of a donor]. If a priest has finds it difficult [to attend a service], he must explain the reason at the administration office and swiftly request a substitute. Once a priest enters the hall for a service, he is neither allowed to be absent from a session [of the service] nor to be dismissed from

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111地主 *jishu*.

112経王 *kyōō*.

113普門之慈悲 *fumon no jihi*. The expression also refers to the universal compassion of bodhisattva Kannon (Avalokiteśvara) which is expounded in the twenty-fifth chapter in the *Lotus Sūtra*.

his duty in the middle [of the service]. A priest who neglects this order will not be invited to any of the major or minor official services. This order is established as a firm rule.

16. [Donors] are prohibited from delivering food baskets[114] as offerings to the priests on the mountain.

The above mentioned food baskets, part of the travel items of lay people and hold smelly and greasy foods. The container is unclean. The household of a priest[115] should have nothing to do with it. But some donors who sponsor Dharma services, or some guests who visit priests, deliver the defiled food containers to this pure and serene court. Making a food offering to a priest is an act which produces merit and happiness. But contaminating the serene [area] with a defiled [food container, donors] will produce seeds of evil [karmic retribution]. Moreover, the container includes the destructive and forbidden taste [of liquor]. The acts of drinking and buying [liquor] are both causes for people to fall into hell,[116] although the former offense is graver than the latter. For this reason, the great master [Saichō] in his dying remarks stated, "[Alcoholic drink] is not allowed to be used in this monastery on Mount [Hiei],[117] even if it is for medical purposes, and certainly not for the purpose

114破子 *warigo.*

115僧家 *sōke.*

116泥梨 *nairi.* In Sanskrit, *niraya.*

117山院*sanin.*

of consumption."[118] This regulation was reiterated during the Tentoku era [957-961], and again an official announcement of the regulation was posted at the eastern and western sides of the mountain during the Kōho era [964-968]. Unruly priests, however, break this rule and preventing this regulation from prevailing [on Mount Hiei]. Now, the prohibition [of alcoholic drinks] is issued again. If a priest discovers a person who tries to secrete [a prohibited food basket into the mountain], he must turn the person away from [the mountain] immediately. If [a priest] refuses to return [a food basket], he will be arrested and taken into the custody by the administration office [of Enryakuji temple]. As a matter of course, a bottle [of liquor] must be returned without regard to its size, whether large or small.

17. Cattle and Horses grazing within the confines of the monastery on Mount [Hiei] should be captured and entrusted to the left and right divisions of the Bureau of Horses.[119]

As mentioned above, the sage masters in the past established [that] the precepts ground [of Enryakuji][120] [be] in and beyond [of the confines of Mount Hiei] and holy emperors from generation to generation left their auspicious

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118The second article in the *Konpon daishi rinjū yuigon* (Dying instructions of the founding great master [Saichō]). *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, 299.

119左右馬寮 *sa'u maryō*. An office in the imperial court which was in charge of the administration of the stables in the court and the state horse ranches in the provinces. The office was divided into two divisions, left (*samaryō*) and right (*umaryō*).

120戒地 *kaichi*. A sacred area for precepts-abiding practitioners. Here Ryōgen means within the confines of Enryakuji on Mount [Hiei]. The entrance to area is restricted to practitioners and other authorized persons.

wishes[121] [in the august prayer-offering temples they erected] in the east and west making [Mount Hiei] a peaceful residence specifically for [the Buddhist priests who are like] the dragons and elephants [protecting] the three treasures [of Buddhism].[122] [The mountain monastery] should not be used as a pasture for the six kinds of livestock,[123] especially cattle and horses. It is, however, rumored that some priests who like horses and love cattle are grazing them on the mountain as they please during the day, and secretly keeping them in the back room of their residence hall during the night within the confines of the monastery. As a result, they contaminate the serene and pure mountain with various defilements, and they turn the cave for the divine spirits into a pit for manure. Ugly bellowing sounds have become notorious throughout the country, and we fear that the repercussion of public condemnation [against us] may even move the earth deities. Priests and lay persons who witness the decline [of morals among] Buddhists and the frivolous deeds of [the priests of] the perfect teaching [of Tendai][124] publicly and loudly denounce [these priests on Mount Hiei]. From now on, [grazing animals in the confines of Mount Hiei] is totally forbidden. Livestock illegally grazing [within the confines of Mount Hiei] are to be confiscated and entrusted to the left and right divisions of the Bureau of Horses according to the court order issued on the seventeenth day of the ninth month of the first year of Jōgan

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121御願 *gogan.*

122 三宝の龍象 *sanbō no ryūzō.* The three treasures of Buddhism are the Buddha, Dharma, and *saṃgha.*

123六畜 *rokuchiku.* They are horses, cows, sheep, dogs, pigs, and chickens.

124円宗 *enshū.*

[859].[125] There are no exceptions.

18. A priest who covers his head [and face] and disturbs the Dharma will not be admitted [on Mount Hiei].

As mentioned above, it is a woman's custom to cover her face to conceal her identity. It is not the custom of a priest, who is a man. But in recent years, at the meditation halls on the Buddha[126] or the meeting places for the Dharma lecture,[127] are filed when the sun goes down in the west and the darkness of night comes on, a mob of priests, who cover their heads and faces, fill the front courts, and these [priests], who wear dirty shoes, enter the building by force. With rough cursing words, they harass the priests who try to restrain them. They chase and flail the priests by brandishing swords and halberds.[128] Priests practicing walking meditation flee [from the meditation hall] upon seeing them coming, and people who come to listen to the Dharma are frightened by them and rush from [the lecture meeting]. Such disturbances toward the Dharma had never been observed [in years past]. For this reason, an order [to restrain disruptive priests] was issued on the first day of the eighth month of the eighth year of Kōho [967], and has been posted at the

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125Ryōgen cited the third article in *Kansei shijō* (Official proclamation in four articles). The text of the *Kansei shijō* is available in the *Tendai kahyō*, 3, in *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 125, (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1913), 273a-b.

126念佛之堂 *nenbutsu no dō.*

127講法之所 *kōhō no sho.*

128刀仗 *tōjō.*

Constant Practice Hall.[129] After the order was issued, [many] rational-minded priests complied with the order. But some priests who have no aspiration to the Dharma have not yet complied. Therefore, this order is reissued. During the practice of continuous *nenbutsu*[130] at the new year service, the second month service or at the imperial court style debate hall,[131] as well as during the *sūtra* lectures, or doctrinal debates in various other places, both attendants and audience must wear proper attire in a dignified manner. Face masks and head coverings[132] are all prohibited. The officers in charge of these services are to cite the names of violators of this rule on the spot, and report them to the administrating office [on Mount Hiei]. The violator must be punished immediately. There are no exceptions.

19. [A priest] who arms himself and goes in and out of the residence quarters of priests, or roams the mountainside must be arrested and surrendered to the authorities.[133]

Arms belong to a warrior who lives in the secular world, and scriptures belong to a practitioner, who has renounced the secular world. A warrior, who lives in the secular world, may study the scriptures. But a person who

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129常行堂 *jōgyōdō.*

130不断念佛 *fudan nenbutsu.*

131内論議堂 *uchirongidō.*

132蔵面、裹頭 *zōmen, katō.*

133公家 *kōka.*

has renounced the secular world must have nothing to do with arms. Above all, the priests on this mountain are to learn and to observe every moment the teaching that [all beings are] perfectly interfused without effort,[134] and every step [they take], they are to abide peacefully in the compassionate [mind] that ferries sentient beings across [the sea of transmigration].[135] Novices and student-servants[136] should follow the guidance of their master priest and should learn the compassionate mind of the Dharma king [the Buddha].[137] For some reason, they instead increase karma, which generates suffering and evil passions that lead to the three lower realms of existence[138] like an unrestrained person who commits the ten evil [acts].[139] The *Brahma-net Sūtra* states, "A disciple of the Buddha should not return anger with anger, should not return a blow for a blow. Even if one's father and mother, brothers and sisters [or other members] of six blood relatives[140] were slain, one should not retaliate. Responding to a killing by a killing is not in accord with filial

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134円融無作 *en'nyū musa.*

135済度有情 *saido ujō.*

136童子 *dōji.*

137法王 *hōō.*

138三途 *sanzu*. They are: (1) the realm of fire (*kazu*) or hell; (2) the realm of blood (*ketsuzu*) or animals; (3) the realm of the sword (*tōzu*), or hungry ghosts (*gaki*).

139十悪 *jūaku*. They are: (1) killing (*sesshō*); (2) stealing (*chūtō*); (3) adultery (*jain*); (4) lying (*mōgo*); (5) harsh words (*akku*); (6) words creating enmity (*ryōzetsu*); (7) flattery speech (*kigo*); (8) greed (*tonyoku*); (9) anger (*shin'i*); (10) wrong view rejecting causality (*jaken*).

140六親 *rokushin*. They are: father, mother, older or younger borthers (or sisters), spouses and children.

piety.[141]"[142] Again, the *Sūtra* states, "A disciple of the Buddha should not possess any sword, halberd, bow, arrows, pike, axe or any other fighting device. Even if one's father and mother were slain, one should not retaliate. [Therefore,] it is needless to say that one should not [possess the weapons] to kill sentient beings indiscriminately."[143] But it has been reported that some priests form into bands, group themselves, forget obligations and harm others. They carry swords underneath [their robes] and go in and out of their residence priest quarters.[144] Carrying bows and arrows they trample the precepts ground [of Enryakuji]. They assail and wound [other priests] as they please. They are no different from the laborers at a slaughter house.[145] Their bodies are filled with violence and evil. They are the equals of drunken elephants. It shames the [Tendai] school and tarnishes the three treasures. The laments [of priests] shake the mountain and voices criticizing [the misconduct of Tendai priests] echo throughout society. The roots [of the misconduct of Tendai priests] lie in some cases, in a master who does not strictly discipline his disciple's misconduct or, in other cases, in disciples who do not faithfully obey the instructions of their master. From now on, the ban [on arms] is strictly enforced. Both a master and his disciples must observe the precepts related to bodily and verbal acts, learn to follow the solemn manner

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141孝道 *kōdō.*

142Taisho, vol. 24, 1006b.

143Ibid., 1005c.

144僧房 *sōbō.*

145屠児 *toni.*

of sages and saints at all times of the day and night, abandon all swords, halberds, bows, and arrows for ever, devote themselves to practicing compassion and charity at every moment, and vow to protect the state and benefit the realm of sentient beings. A priest who disregards the order issued by the administration office of the temple and does not obey the instructions of his master will first receive spiritual punishments[146] from the good divine spirits who protect the Dharma. Thereafter, the courageous soldiers who devote themselves to the Dharma will arrest his physical body and send him to the administration office to be turned over to the authorities.

20. Within the confines of the monastery on Mount [Hiei], a priest is prohibited from inflicting punishments arbitrarily [upon anyone].

The above mentioned order is based on the twenty-three (sic. twenty-two) regulations[147] issued on the twenty third day of the fifth month of the first year of Tenchō [824], which states, "A disciple of the Buddha should have a mind of compassion and use soft words. As the great master [Saichō] admonished, 'We, the members of the community [of priests], who equally share the Dharma, should not beat our student-servants. And no one should be punished within the confines of the temple. A priest who fails to

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146冥罰 *myōbatsu*.

147二十三（二）箇条制式 *nijūsan(ni)kajō seishiki*. *Enryakuji kinsei shiki*, rules of conducts at Enryakuji, compiled by Ninchū, a disciple of Saichō, in 824. An existing edition of the text cites only fifteen articles out of the original twenty-two regulations. The text is available in the *Tendai kahyō* 5, in the *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho*, vol. 126 (Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai, 1913), 522a-524b.

understand the significance of my words is not a member of our community of the Dharma, is not a disciple of the Buddha, and is not a person who studies the Dharma.'[148] Here I have cited the words of the great master [Saichō] in order to convey his message to the disciples of the later period. In order to protect the Dharma, [a priest] should not punish [anyone in his community]. [A priest] should not beat his young [attendants] even with his fingers or palms. [A priest] who violates this rule is not a member of this mountain community. He is called a different kind [of being][149]."[150] The *Brahma-net sūtra* also states, "A bodhisattva should plant the roots of goodness and produce no thought of argument in any sentient beings and should always maintain a compassionate mind. But, on the contrary, some priests scold with foul words in the presence of any sentient and non-sentient beings. In addition, the offending priest beat with their fists, or harm a person with swords and halberds and still they are not satisfied. Even though the [scolded] person wants to repent and apologizes sincerely, he can hardly contain his anger. This is considered to be one of the gravest offenses[151] [within the community of] bodhisattvas."[152] The [*Brahma-net sūtra*] also states, "A [disciple of the Buddha] should not abuse his male or female

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148A similar admonishment is found in the fourth article in the *Konpon daishi rinjū yuigon*. *Dengyō daishi zenshū*, vol. 1, 299.

149異類 *irui*.

150The fourth article in the *Enryakuji kinseishiki*. *Tendai kahyō* 5, 522b-523a.

151波羅夷罪 *haraizai*. In Sanskrit, *pārājika*. In the *Brahma-net sūtra*, the ten major precepts (*jūjūkai*). Committing one of these offenses results in rebirth in the three evil realms of existence (*sanmakudō*), those of hell, animals and hungry ghosts. See Taisho, vol. 24, 1005a.

152Taisho, vol. 24, 1005a.

servants by hitting and cursing them. He [should not deliberately add more evil deeds to] the innumerable number of his evil deeds created from the three kinds of acts (bodily, verbal, and mental) in his everyday life."[153] In recent years, however, it is occasionally heard that some priests on the mountain, disregarding the order issued by the great master [Saichō] violating the *tathāgata's* dying instructions,[154] carry out punishments within the confines of the monastery on Mount [Hiei]. Incidents of beating young [attendants] are heard very often. From now on, [meting of punishments within the confines of the monastery on the mountain] is completely prohibited. [A priest] who violates this rule will be expelled from the community. He is called a different kind [of being]. He is not [a member of the community of priests who] equally share the Dharma.[155]

21. During the ceremony confirming the precepts,[156] priests are prohibited from disturbing and interrupting the ceremony.

The above mentioned ceremony confirming the precepts is the first gate that guides a person entering permanently into the family of the Buddha,[157] and a half-way [mark] leading sentient beings into the gathering of [the

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153Ibid., 1006b.

154遺戒 *yuikai*.

155同法 *dōhō*.

156授戒 *jukai*.

157佛家 *bukke*.

practitioners of] the Dharma.[158] [The ceremony confirming the precepts] is one of the most significant matters for the state. There is no other [ceremony] which is more crucial for the advancement of the [Tendai] school. But during the confirmation when the precepts are being given, some vicious people who do not observe the precepts unlawfully disturb the official ceremony because they hold personal grudges. An ordinand is sometimes forcibly dragged out of the ceremony and humiliated by [the unlawful attendants of the ceremony]. And occasionally the ceremony is interrupted by [a mob of unlawful people] who burst into the ceremony and start a brawl while [the ordinand] is on the [ordination] platform. No words can express the unlawfulness of these incidents. From now on, [such unlawful conduct during the ceremony confirming the precepts] is prohibited. [This ordinance is installed] to change the current situation. A priest who is concerned [for his safety during the ceremony] should file a complaint describing the details of his situation to the administration office [of the Enryakuji temple][159] through which an immediate investigation and impeachment should be executed. A person who still unlawfully disturbs [the ceremony], as if he were following a customary practice, will be permanently expelled from the *saṃgha* if he is a priest of this temple [Enryakuji]. If he is a priest of another temple, a novice or a youth [attendant], he will be arrested and turned to the public prosecutor's office.[160] No misconduct [during the ceremony] should be overlooked.

158道場 *dōjō.*

159政所 *mandokoro.*

160検非違使 *kebi'ishi.*

22. [Each residence hall on Mount Hiei] is required to file a head priest's register[161] [of residents to the administration office of Enryakuji] semi-annually, once in the spring and once in the fall.

This order is based on the formally mentioned regulation [issued on the twenty third day of the fifth month on the first year of Tenchō (824)] which states, "Each residence hall of [Enryakuji] temple [on Mount Hiei] must file a head priest's register [of residents] for every room to the administration office [of Enryakuji] biannually, once in the spring and once in the fall. The register must include each resident's Dharma name,[162] province,[163] county,[164] family name, and given name. All [residents], regardless of age and position, should be registered without omission. This rule should always be followed. The person who does not follow this rule will be classified as a master-less wanderer.[165] Such a person is not eligible for benefits [on Mount Hiei], because he is not a member of the saṃgha on Mount [Hiei][166]."[167] In recent years, however, this rule has not been observed and the registers have not been filed. It is very difficult to identify current [official] residents and non[-

161房主帳 *bōshuchō.*

162法号 *hōgō.*

163国 *kuni,* or *koku.*

164郡 *kōri,* or *gun.*

165浪人 *rōnin.*

166山衆 *sanshū.*

167The tenth article in the *Enryakuji kinseishiki. Tendai kahyō* 5, 523b.

official] residents, because of this [neglect]. From now on, [each residence hall] must keep a record [of all residents] for each term. [The register] must be filed before the deadline. The above mentioned regulation [issued on 824] may be understood that the register should record all residents, including lay adult [attendants] and youth [attendants]. This is because the regulation was issued when the number of the *saṃgha* members on Mount [Hiei] was still small and there were not so many resident halls. The regulation, as it was stated [in 824], is not applicable to the current situation [on Mount Hiei]. Therefore, the register should be limited to the [Dharma] names of the current resident priests. One should neither miss the deadline nor fail to file [the register].

23. The registration of a current resident priest is to be certified by his attendance at the semi-annual *sūtra* chanting services for Sannō.[168]

Sannō guides us with his compassion and beneficence like our father, mother, master, and lord. We have already received his compassion and beneficence. How could we not be thankful [to Sannō]. Each priest should show his respect by transferring merit and glorifying [Sannō] through turning [the pages of] the *sūtras*[169] during the day and memorized recitation [of a mantras or a *sūtra*][170] during the night at his own residential quarter. All

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168山王, Mountain King. The guardian deity of Mount Hiei.

169転経 *tengyō*. A style of ritual chanting of *sūtra* with large number of volumes. During the chanting session, priests read only excerpts from the beginning, middle and ending parts of each volume of the *sūtra* and skip the rest. Sometimes priests read the title only.

170念誦 *nenju*. Recitation of a memorized mantra, a *sūtra* or a name of a Buddha.

current residents of the eastern and western [pagodas] should assemble at the Dharma hall, once in the spring and once in the fall, and chant *sūtras* in unison [for the sake of Sannō]. In the old days, the number of the resident priests was determined by the number of attendants at the services [for Sannō]. The services [for Sannō] have become seasonal since the Tengyō era [938-947]. Many priests, however, have become lazy and the number of the attendants at the services has decreased since that time. [These absent priests] not only break the unity of the assembly of the service, but also confuse [the administrators] as to the number of the current residents [on Mount. Hiei] as opposed to those on leave. From now on, therefore, returning to the older tradition, the service [for Sannō] is to be held semi-annually. A priest who does not attend the next season's service will be immediately removed from the register. The registration of a priest [who is removed from the register] will be restored at the following service [for Sannō] which he attends. But, if a priest is sick, has contracted defilements or is invited to an official or private service [on the day of the service for Sannō], he must notify the administration office [of Enryakuji at least] three days before the service. He is allowed to fulfill his duty of *sūtra* chanting at the place where he is staying. Also, the resident priests at Ryōgonin [at the Yokawa priory], in which almost two hundred residents are currently staying, have great difficulty in attending [the service] because their residence is located in the precipitous peaks and valleys far away [from the Dharma hall]. [All resident priests at the Yokawa priory] should assemble at the main hall[171] [of Ryōgonin] and each priest

171 中堂 *chūdō*.

should practice the service [for Sannō] with utmost sincerity. The chief administrator[172] and other officers[173] [of Ryōgonin] must confirm [the attendance at the service] and forward the information [to the administration office of Enryakuji]. This order is confirmed as a permanent rule.

24. On the day of the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics, the officiants and their attendants are prohibited from visiting the residence of the chief administrator [supervising the assembly].

It has been customary for the officiants and their attendants to visit the residence of the chief administrator after the above mentioned great assembly. Beginning with this year's assembly, the custom is abolished. [The custom is prohibited] for the following reasons. Although the *sūtras* exalt the joy that is in accord with the root of goodness, the rules and customs [after the service] should be more flexible. The [greeting] words [of priests visiting the chief administrator] have little sincerity. Even if the weather were not fine [on the day of the service], the priests [customarily] would say that the weather was fine. Even if [the service were] not observed according to the prescribed method, the priests would say that it was. The words [of the priests] are false and delusory in order to keep up momentary appearances. [After the service] everyone is tired and wants rest. But the master and guests [still have to] sit facing each other in accordance with the unbearable rules and customs.

172院司 *inshi.*

173執行 *shikkō.*

Therefore, [the custom] is discontinued. In addition, the audience and the officiants of the Assembly in the Sixth Month are also prohibited from visiting the residence of the lecturer on the sixth day of the service.

25. The senior and junior officiants [of the official services on Mount Hiei] are prohibited from visiting the residence of the abbot[174] [of Enryakuji] to offer their congratulations [for the successful completion of the service] at each occasion.

This custom of the officiants visiting the residence of the abbot [of Enryakuji] to offer their congratulations has for many years been observed on the day of the annual services of the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics, the ceremony confirming the precepts and on the day of the ceremony of *abhiṣeka*. From now on, this custom is altogether discontinued. The purpose of this discontinuance is similar to that of the former article [24]. The newly appointed head priest[175] [on Mount Hiei], however, is allowed to see visitors on the day of any service which he officiates for the first time.

26. The senior and junior officiants [of the official services on Mount Hiei] should both observe the rules of etiquette [at the services].

The *sūtras* and commentaries clearly advocate [the principle] that one should

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174 座主 *zasu*.

175 貫首 *kanshu*.

respect those above him and also be kind to those below. Even certain birds or animals sometimes observe [this etiquette]. Needless to say, a priest of the Buddha's house should observe [this etiquette]. But in recent years the officiants [of the official services on Mount Hiei] have often failed to observe the rules of etiquette [at the services]. In the right of the rule of the Dharma, [the impolite manners of priests] should not be tolerated. From now on, officiants who sit in the middle or lower positions [at an assembly] must not disrupt [priests] who sit in the upper or middle positions [respectively], even if their conduct is improper. Officiants who sit in the upper or middle positions [at an assembly] must not ridicule [priests] who sit in the middle or lower positions [respectively], even if their claims are absurd. First, everyone should be given an opportunity to present his opinion. A decision should be made after listening. When a senior officiant sits in the upper position, a junior officiant must obey him respectfully. As the junior officiant is sure to become a venerable master in the future, the senior officiant should not look down upon him. [All officiants] should respect each other and should both observe the rules of etiquette.

The various articles I have stated above are based on the teaching of the Tathāgata and the dying instructions of past masters. Yet, only a few abide by these rules and those many who disobey them are thriving [on Mount Hiei]. The wind of tradition does not sweep the moon shining over the cold valley any more. Traces of preceding [masters] are almost completely buried beneath the evening clouds covering the peaks [of Mount Hiei]. If I am alone in sincerely lamenting [the current situation] and if I grow old idling beneath the

[three] guardian stars [of the heavenly palace],[176] I fear that even after I am gone, my white bones will remain to weep as the heavens pass above. Therefore, I exert my ignorant little brain [to write these articles]. Most humbly I present [this invocation to be confirmed] before the clear mirror of the great master [Saichō]. I present [this invocation] to all senior and junior officiants of the Eastern and Western [Pagodas] and to the entire [Tendai] community on Mount Hiei to polish the three disks[177] [of bodily, verbal, and mental acts of the priests inside] of the gate of the pine trees.[178] I sincerely call [upon all buddhas, bodhisattvas, and guardian deities of Mount Hiei] to witness this invocation.

The sixteenth day of the seventh month of the first year of Tenroku [970].

The abbot [of Enryakuji], a minor bishop of the lower rank, a master of the Dharma-eye,[179] Ryōgen (Signature).

Executive officers

176台星 *daisei*. (三)台星 *sandaisei*. The three guardian stars of the heavenly palace located around the North Star. An epithet for the three highest positions of the imperial court: Prime Minister, Minister of the Left and Minister of the Right.

177三輪 *sanrin*.

178松門 *shōmon*. A gate made of natural pine trees. Ryōgen used this phrase as a metaphor of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei.

179座主権少僧都法眼和尚 *zasu gonshōsōzu hōgen kashō*.

The senior supervisor of the clerical affairs [of Enryakuji], a great master in the transmission of the lamp [of Dharma],[180] Hōsin (Signature).[181]

The temple master [of Enryakuji], a great master in the transmission of the lamp [of Dharma],[182] Juren[183] (Signature).

The chief director of the clerical affairs [of Enryakuji], a great master in the transmission of the lamp [of Dharma],[184] Shōtō[185] (Signature).

180上座伝燈大法師 *jōza dentō daihosshi.*

181法恂 (Dates not known).

182寺主伝燈大法師 *jishu dentō daihossi.*

183寿連 (Dates not known).

184都維那伝燈大法師 *tsuina dentōdaihosshi.*

185聖燈 (Dates not known).

天台座主良源起請

座主、権小僧都、法眼和尚位の良源、敬いて啓す。法をして久住せ令めんが為に、雑制二十六箇條を立る事。

一、舎利会の別当の、会日の被物、前後の所司供等停止する事。

（1）

右会にて、別当は、初め色衆を定むる之日、後に公文を結する之時、堂達、綱維を労饗する事、並びに会日の被物、曳物等の事制止すること先に了す。今、其の禁を厳ずる為に、更に制を立るを以てす。大会をして永代に絶え不ら令めん為に、年々の別当は、制の旨を忘れること莫れ。但し色衆の供に至りては、事、法恩に在り。是れ禁限するに非ず。宜は倹約に存す。過差を得不れ。

一、六月会の講師の、聴衆、所司の労供を停止する事。

（2）

右会は、大師の慈恩に報じ奉る為に、往昔の賢哲の始行する所也。事、須く寺家

をして請僧を労供すべし。請僧は、一向に經中の深義を講論する者也。昔は、纔かに空茶を酌み、以て来問者の渇きを除く。聊か麁膳を設けて、以て威儀僧の疲れを補う。而して、年来、講匠は、文義の釋を事と不ず、只だ、聴衆を営饗す。鉢は、東西之嶺于遍き雲の如くに来り、滋味、連日主客の坊于溢る。衆徳を旅亭於招きて、朝朝之饗は、松葉味を忘る。群賢を私曲於引きて、暮暮之労は、茶煙濃きに驚く。三經軸を尽くす之時、七日、明之夕を待つ。高徳鳩集し、珍膳舌間於乱る。名僧雁行くし、奇物掌上於耀く。今、事情を案ずるに、供佛、施僧は、実に随喜する可しと雖も、深山、絶嶺は猶尚過差を嘆く。況や、当巡之人に、未だ必ずしも徳有らず。随事日に、何ぞ無煩ならん乎。仍て、今、調鉢伝送之礼、熟食労供之営、毎朝之斎莚、六夕之饗会、一切停止す。若し、紙、筆、茶、扇之類、求め不して得る者有ば、第五巻の席に之を出し、佛前の讃歎の和声に、布施、色を混じ、其の功徳を増勝広多なら令めん。之無きに至りても、故に求覓すること莫れ。但し、大会、寂にして、常に異なるを恐る。仍て、寺家は微の供を以て欲め、聊か講亭を充せん。又、試に、信心の家を勧めて、将に施の志を副加せ令ん。

冀ふ也、諸徳当次之賢は、唯須く勝義妙經を説きて、以て大師之法楽を増大せよ。世間の俗士に同じく、以て少事の因縁を営むこと莫れ。

一、同会の立義者の、調鉢、煎茶、威儀供を停止する事。

（3）

右、立義僧は、或は順に依りて昇り、或は不次に進む。若し、門徒滋広にして、相問者、多ければ、事に於て煩い無からん。若し、単己清閑にして、相問者、少なければ、事に臨みて恥じ有らん。順に依る與、不次と、共に是れ一階なり。有恥與、無煩と、何に其の両り、別ならん。仍て、調鉢の伝送、煎茶の相営、威儀の供労、一切停止す。広学竪義者に至ば、既に抜萃と謂う。守制、何ぞ同じから

ん。将に過差を責む。宣は倹約に存す。但し、及科之少多に依りて、以て得果の遅速を定む。綸旨は、広学と為す、と雖も、寺議は他生に限ら不。志業之龍駒、蛍雪を疎かにすること勿れ。

一、十一月会の講師の、調鉢、煎茶、威儀供を停止する事。

（4）

右、停止の旨は、前條と一同。但、勧学の為、殊に道心を発いて、内論議を修するは、是制限するに非ず。即ち、此の事を修する者は、彼の殊功を賞する為に、超て明年の立義に預る之事、安和元年以来之定め、立て、永例と為す。又、講経、釋疑に善巧を得る者は、後業を遂げ令め、将に前階を越ん。若し、早く立身せんと欲すれば、宜しく其の用意に励むべし。

一、安居講師の、所司に調鉢を送供するを停止する事。

（5）

右、停止之旨は、亦、前條の如し。但し、一夏の講演之旨は、鎮護国家、成熟年穀の為也。事、須く文を講じ、義を釋し、巻を尽し、理を顕すべき者也。而て、近代の講師は、只、階業之仮名を思い、教理之実義を存ぜ不。祈請之無効、譴責し余り有り。今、須く已に充定之僧を被るは、一向に三経の文義を習学し、節を迎る之日、登高之朝、開題、釋文、必ず貝葉の軸を窮め、解義、理に入り、貫花之心を失はず、外に攀縁を断ち、内に散乱を伏し、年穀を祈求し、国家を護らんことを誓ふ。凡そ、秋稼之雲の如きを致さんは、須く夏講之霧を披るべし。既に、世俗之美を停める、蓋ぞ、勝義之功を顕さざらん。二諦、若し双亡すれば、九旬、其れ何の用ぞ。

一、衆僧の、木履を著て上堂することを停止する事。

（6）

右、衆僧の上堂には、必ず草履を用るべし。戒律に指す所、往昔久しく存す。而るに、近代之僧、多く木履を著す。事は、之旧跡に背く。人之古風を忘れる。凡そ其れ心有るは、誰か歎念せ不らん。仍て、今、制を立つ。自房、詣堂、必ず草子を著すべし。外従り、内に入るに、宜く浄履を用ふべし。佛堂之内に於いては、草履を用ふ不可らず。事、經、律に載る、亦、依憑す可し。若、違背するもの有らば、 僧座に著すること莫れ、宜く、沙彌に准ずべし。

一、羯磨物を競留して、期日内に直を出さ不る者は、永く衆断に処す応き事。

（7）

右、羯磨物を競留して、直を遅出する之輩は、殊に咎む可之由、貞観元年以来の制式重畳、已に八、九箇度なり。重て事情を案るに、僧伽は是、和敬之名、羯磨は是、清浄之法なり。理は、須く、物色之尊卑に随て、以て価直之多少を定むべし。又、先に料物を用意して、而る後、競買する者也。而に、或は物色を貪ずる為に、価直を限ら不して、競留する。 ＜仮令、物色の直品、一、二貫許りなるも、貪欲之深きに、物を逐て、意動き、覚へ不して、二、三、四銭を挙る。＞ 或は、傍人を忽る為に、損益を顧み不、高く挙る。 ＜其の物、要に非ずとも、戯れの如く挙げる。傍に一僧有て、其の要、尤も切なり。仍て、競て挙る間、前僧の心念に、我は、是、其人なり、彼は、等輩に非ず。何に相競う乎。驕慢之深きに、後の損を顧み不、下品之物を高直に留る。＞ 打ち留て之後、貪慢、漸く息み、直の高きを悔み始む。或は、本色を返上し、或は、其の直を輸せ不。又

復、有人は、直物を用意せ不、只、其物を要求す。競得之後、弁済の力無く、徒に月日を送り、或は歳年に及ぶ。於、是、件の物、或は是大衆の料なれば、其の分、遅得之僧は、堂達に於て、誹謗を致す。或は是修理の料なれば、其の僧、勤営之輩は、造作をして延怠せ令むる。事は、之、理に乖き、尤も責む可きに足る。今、重て制を立て、永く貪慢之心を伏し、慥に価直之品を推し、縦ひ誤て競ひ挙げ、意なら不して留むとも、更に追悔之心無く、亦、変改之色無く、期日之内に、必ず以て弁出すべし。其の期は、略、貞観元年十二月十五日の式文を見よ。今、彼の式に准じて、更に其の期を定む。五貫以上は、五日之内、十貫以上は、七日之内、二十貫以上は、十日之内、三十貫以上は、十五日之内、必ず究出す可し。若し、式に背く者有らば、貞観、寛平、昌泰、延長、天慶等の、年年度度の制式に准じ、永く衆断に処す。都て、寛宥せ不。又、所司之中、若し、済人の為に、未出之直を、已出と称する者は、宜く、天慶五年七月十二日の制式に准じて、将に、処勘すべき事矣。

一、布薩の法用を闕く者は三年の断に処す応き事。

（8）

右、布薩は、是れ浄住之義、僧伽は即ち和合之称なり。蓮台を師と為は、其れ、唯、応を垂る之日、木叉を範と為は、豈、帰真之時にあら非らんや。是を以て、一華に百億の佛佛を相伝し、万葉は三千に化化して絶え不。遂に、半月半月をして、口より戒光を出し、刹那刹那に、身を覚位に近づか使ん者哉。然ば則ち、凡そ、菩薩戒を受し者は、布薩之日至る毎に、必ず入堂し聴聞すべし。況や、其の順次に当り、法用に差せ被る者は、何の因てか、闕怠を致す乎。而に、或は、請書を見て、奉の字を加え不。或は、其の字を加え、已に見修を闕す。豈、只、寺家之所行を軽忽にし、兼ては復、世尊之厳制に背く。今自り以後、若し、闕怠有らば、将に三年の断に処す。

曾て之を寛宥せ不。但、誦戒、梵唄、維那に堪え不る者は、堪能之替りを請ふて、共に参じて、誦戒を聞けと。替人の出に依て、以て自聴を闕くこと莫れ。

一、登壇の後は、必ず布薩堂に参じ、兼て、誦戒、梵唄、維那の作法を練習する応き事。

（９）

右、經に云く、若し、菩薩戒を受て、此の戒を誦せ不る者は、菩薩に非ず、佛の種子に非ず。又、云く、若し、佛子、禁戒を護持し、行住座臥、日夜六時に、此の戒を読誦するは、猶、金剛の如し、浮嚢を帯持して、大海を度せんと欲するが如し。又、云く、若し、布薩の日、新学の菩薩は、半月、半月に十重、四十八軽戒を誦する。一人の布薩、即ち、一人誦す。若し、二人、三人、乃至、百千人、亦、一人誦す。 ＜寺中の住僧、多少、数に随ひて、布薩す可也。＞ 上古の賢人は、佛語を信ぜん為に、読誦を忘れ不、参修するに闕無し。近代の釋衆は、制戒を守ら不、自ら習学せ不、亦、聴聞を闕く。布薩の大道、久しから不して、将に絶えなん。釈尊、帰寂以来、聖賢、相続して遷去す。像末の佛弟子、唯、尸羅を師と為す。布薩、若し絶えな者、依怙、誰に在る乎。大衆、諸賢、明かに此の旨を察て、佛法をして世間に久住せ令めん為に、自他をして速かに菩提を證せ令めん為に、必ず自ら常に誦習し、他を教へて、亦、誦習せしめよ。其れ、新に発意し、戒品を受る者は、始め、登壇之日従り、決定して、之を読誦せ令めん。

一、誦讃唄散等の法用作法を練習す応き事。

（１０）

右、修正、二月の行道衆、舎利会の讃、梵音、錫杖衆、七月十六日、十一月二十四日の大師供の讃衆、灌頂の讃衆、六月、十一月の法華会の法用の第五巻讃歎僧等、其の音用、作法を練習せ不。徒然として閇口し、適ま、一両、発音する者有れば、先達之口伝を受け不、見聞する者をして嘲咲せ令む。就中、灌頂の夜の吉慶の讃衆、縦ひ九条、悉く誦せ不と雖、初めの三条許りは、必ず之を誦す可し。而に、纔、初条を誦して、中間は、音絶え、鐃はちの響を以て之を補綴す。傷しい哉、傷しい哉。大道之陵遅、亦、応に此の如き歟。今自り以後、各各、用心し、明師に随聞し、一々習練せよ。況や上件の諸会の色衆に差充せ被る者は、既に請書を見る之後は、行住坐臥に、習練、読誦し、随事之日には、音声を断ぜ不、見聞の人をして、随喜の意を発せ令む。　＜条々、讃歎、唄、散花、梵音、錫杖等、頌迎導師、頌薪讃歎等耳。＞

一、伝法、講経の席には、必ず会に参じて、聴聞す応き事。

（１１）

右、梵網経に云く、若し、佛子、一切所に毘尼経律の講法、有らば、是、新学の菩薩、経律の巻を持して、法師の所に至り、聴受諮聞す応し。若し、山林樹下、僧地房中、一切の説法所に悉く至り、聴受せよ。諸経論中に、多く此の説有り。往古の釈侶は、皆此の説を信じ、講法の所有ば、必ず行きて聴聞す。而に年来、伝法之席、講論之場に、請僧之外に、来聴する者無し。何に善逝之制戒に背く只か、亦、即ち当来の智因を失す。道を味う釈氏は、熟く教文を存じ、伝法講経之庭、論議決択之所に、万障を省捨して、必ず行きて、聴聞し、護法の為、智慧成熟の為、闕怠を得不、遺忘を得不。

一、年分の学生は、殊に法器を択ぶ応き事。

（１２）

右、去る、弘仁九年八月二十七日の大師、所制の八箇条式に云く、得業の学生は六年に業成じ、試業の例に預る。又、云く、凡そ、得業の学生の、心性、法に違い、衆制に順ぜ不るは、官に申て取り替えよ、云々。今、案内を検ずるに、六年成業は久く奉行せられ不、旧に復す可きこと難し。心性調順にして才学相備の者に至るは、若し之を択すれば得る可し。之を択ば不は、得不。仍て、一両年の間、非器の学生は、已に以て返却せよ。又、籠山一十二年、四種三昧を修習せよと、同、式に在ると雖、当今修する所は、只、常行三昧也。件之三昧は、殆ど陵遅せんと欲すは、唯、試業の日に依りて、学生を択さ不る也。道を守る賢哲は、明かに此の由を察して、得分の学生は、殊に法器を選べ。生年十四、五以上、二十歳以下にして、容貌に疵瑕無く、心操、禪行に堪える者、是、庶幾する所也。

一、籠山の僧、内界の地際を出ず可から不。＜東を悲田に限り、南を般若寺に限り、西を水飲に限り、北を楞厳院に限る。此の外に之を出す可から不。＞

（１３）

右、同く前の式に云く、凡そ得業の生の大戒を受け竟るは、十二年間山門を出不、修学を勧め令む。初めの六年は、聞慧を正を為し、思修を傍と為す。一日之中、二分を内学、一分を外学、長講を行と為し、法施を業と為す。後の六年は、思修を正を為し、聞慧を傍と為す。止観業を具すは、四種三昧を修習せ令め、遮那業を具すは、三部念誦を修習せ令む。言う所の山門は、是、結界の内際なり。而て、近代、或は大原に越え、或は小野に向い、東西南北、出入り往来、忌憚無き之類、往々に而て有るを聞く。是即ち、各各の師主、大師の制式を守ら不、弟子の非法之所を呵ら不るの到す所也。今自り以後、殊に禁制を立て、慣常に内界

を出る者有ば、将に、以て、擯出せよ。又、前後の六年間、修学す応き、聞思修の慧は、全く式文を守り、闕怠す可ら不。

一、若僧の禁色の衣服の著用を制す応き事。

（１４）

右、同く前の式に云く、冬夏の法服は、大乗の法に依り、諸方に行檀し、有待の身を蔽し、業をして、不退なら令む。草庵を房と為し、竹葉を座と為し、生を軽じ、法を重んじ、法をして久住なら令め、国家を守護せん。而に、今、時易り、世移り、制式を守ら不、室は草廬を忘れ、衣は糞掃を厭う。棟宇は麗に構へ、雲を凌ぎて高し。綾羅、香薫、風に随ひて磐える。山家は華美にして、世を挙げて謗訕す。抑、峯谷の僧房に、佛経を安置せ不るは莫し。縦へ、高広なると雖、猶、合眼す可し。冬夏の時の服は、唯、寒燠を禦ぐに趣き、其の用の美好、誰か、敢て甘心する。仍て、去る康保四年に立制し、常行堂に下し了　る。禁制之旨は、具に彼の中に在り。綾羅、錦穀は、一切停止、其の外之色は、新旧麁細、只、有に随ふ可し。旧を捨て、新きを求め、麁を厭い、細を欣うことを得不。努力、努力、違失す可ら不。

一、公私の読経を、闕坐し懈怠する者は、永く請用を停る応き事。

（１５）

右、公私諸家の信心の檀越は、天台円教を仰がん為、地主の威神を憑まん為、験佛之堂を尋ね、読経之事を修す。所請の僧侶は、須く各の利他の道心に安住し、朝暮の座の勤めを闕さ不、以て、名句文を思うを専にし、経王之奇功を顕し、施

主之求願を満す者也。而に、或は、只、朝座に参り、夕座に参ら不。或は、只、発願に遇て、結願に遇は不。其の心、仮名に在りて、其の勤め、実義に闕く。豈、啻に、檀家之懇志を疎忽にし、抑、復た普門之慈悲に闕如す。事は、山中を出て、訕は、洛下に及ぶ。仍て、今、制を立て、晨時、晡時、朝夕、闕勿く、発願、結願、初後全修せよ。若、故障有ば、行事所に於て、事由を兼ねて示し、早く補を請は令めよ。已に入堂の後は、若は一坐闕し、若は中間で退すを、一切許さ不。若、違背有らば、大小の法事、都て請用せ不ること、立てて永例と為す。

一、破子を以て山僧に送り施すことを禁制す応き事。

（１６）

右の、破子は、是、俗人之旅具にして、葷腥を盛る之器也。其の器、已に不浄なり。僧家、何に受用する。而に、或は法事を修す之家、或は僧侶を訪う之輩、彼の雑染之器を備へ、此の清浄之庭に送る。食を以て、僧に施すは、福報を招く可きと雖、穢を以て、浄に交るは、何に罪根を結ば不る。以て加るに、毀禁之味、件の器の中に在り。之を飲むと酤すると、縦ひ分別有れど、之の軽與重と、同じく泥梨を感ず。是を以て、大師の遺誡に云く、設へ合薬の為といへど、尚、山院内に於て、用いるを許さ不。況や飲む為を乎。仍て、去る天徳年中、禁制を軽せ不、康保年中、重て東西の坂下に於て制札を立つ。而に、放逸之輩、之を破り、流行せ令め不。今、重て禁制す。若、制に背きて、偸送之者有らば、相見之人、立處に追返し、若、執する所有らば、其の身を搦捕して、政所に進上せよ。況や瓶類に於ては、大小を論ぜ不、悉く之を返却す可し。

一、山院の界内に牛馬を放し飼いするは、左右馬寮に捉進す応き事。

（１７）

右、先々の賢師、戒地を内外に結し、代々の聖帝、御願を東西に遺す、唯、三宝龍象の安足之処と為す。豈、六畜牛馬、放牧之薗と為さん哉。而に、聞く如き者、或僧は、馬を好み牛を愛す之家、昼は、恣に山上界内に於て放し飼い、夜は、室裏の曲中に於て密に労畜す。是、清浄之山を以て、雑穢之地に還成し、神仙之窟、更に糞壌之坊に変ず。醜悪之声、漸く天下に及び、謗訕之響、地祇を動すを恐る。佛家之陵遅、円宗之澆薄、見聞する道俗は、弾指し喧声す。今自り以後、一切禁断す。若、制に違い、猶、放し飼いする者は、貞観元年九月十七日の官符の旨に因准し、必ず、将に、左右馬寮に捉進し、敢て之を寛宥せ不。

一、頭を裹し、法を妨る者禁制す応き事。

（１８）

右、面を秘し、見せ不る者は、是女人之儀也。男子僧侶、曾て然る可から不。而に、年来、念佛之堂、講法之所に、白日西に暮れ、黒闇迎来之時、裹頭之僧、庭上に満ち、穢履之類、堂中に入る。若、之を制する者、麁言を吐き、罵辱し、刀仗を揚げ、追打つ。行道之人、見て退去し、聞法之輩、畏れて還帰す。妨法之盛り、此に過ぎたるは莫し。之に因て、去る康保四年八月一日、制を立て、常行堂に下し畢る。其の後、有心之僧、已に以て順伏すれど、無道之輩、猶、未だ帰降せず。今、重ねて制を立つ。其れ、修正、二月の不断念佛、及び内論議堂、処々の講説立義之時、若は参修の人、若は見聞の者、必ず衣裳を備へ、威儀を欠くこと莫かれ。蔵面、裹頭は、一切停止す。若、制に背く有らば、行事の人、其の名を[　]注し、早速、言上し、随即処断し、曾て之を寛宥せ不。

一、兵仗を持ちて、僧房に出入りし、山上に往来する者を尋捕して、公家に進む応き事。

（１９）

右、兵器は、是、在俗の武士之所持にして、経巻は、是、出家の行人之翫ぶ所なり。在俗之士、設ひ経文を学ぶとも、出家之人、何に兵具を用るや。中就、我が山の僧、念々に円融無作之教理を修習し、歩々に済度有情之慈悲に安住す。凡そ、其れ、相随の沙彌、童子は、須く各の師主之教訓に随ひて、法王之慈心を習ふべし。何に因てか、十悪放逸之人に類し、三途苦毒之業を造らんや。梵網経に云く、佛子、瞋を以て瞋に報い、打を以て打に報うを得不。若し父母、兄弟、六親を殺せども、報を加すを得不れ。生を殺して、生に報うは、孝道に順ぜ不。又、云く、佛子、一切の刀仗、弓箭、矛斧、闘戦之具を畜ることを得不れ。乃至、父母を殺せども、尚、報を加え不れ。況や、一切衆生を殺すをや、云々。而に、聞く如きの者は、或僧等は、党を結し、群を成し、恩を忘れ、怨を報ず。懐中に刀剣を挿著し、恣に僧房に出入りし、身上に弓箭を帯持し、猥りに戒地を往還す。任意に傷害すること、彼の屠児に異なら不。暴悪、身に遍きこと、猶、酔象に同じ。一宗之恥辱、三宝之澆醨なり。愁吟は山を動かし、謗毀は世に喧し。是、則ち、或いは、師長、弟子之悪行を呵責せ不、或いは、弟子、師長之教誡に随順せ不る故也。今自り以後、殊に禁遏を加え、師弟共に、身口之戒律を守り、日夜、常に、賢聖之威儀を習い、刀仗、弓箭を一々、永く棄て、慈悲喜捨、念々専修し、国家を誓護し、安生界を利せん。若、寺家の制式に順ぜ不、師有の教訓を受け不る者、有らば、護法の善神、先ず冥罰を加へ、惜道の勇士、次に現身を捕へ、速やかに寺家に送り、将に、官底に進ずべし。

一、山院の内に於て、恣に刑罰を行することを禁制する事。

（２０）

右、天長元年五月二十三日の二十三（二）箇条の制式に云く、凡そ佛子、慈悲を以て心と為し、柔軟を以て語と為す。所以は、大師、存日の誡に云く、我同法一衆は童子を打つことを得不れ、又、院内に於て刑罰を得不れ。若、此の意を得不るは、我同法にあら不、佛子に非ず、法を学ぶ人に非ず、と。今、大師の語を録し、後代に告示す。佛法を護持する為、各の刑罰する勿れ。指掌、猶、童子を打つを得不れ。若、違犯有らば、同じ山衆に非ず、名づけて、異類の人と為す、云々。又、梵網経に云く、菩薩、一切衆生中に善根、無諍之事を生じ、常に悲心を生ず応し。而て、反りて更に、一切衆生中に於て、乃至、衆生に非ざるの中に於て、悪口を以て罵辱し、加るに、手打ち、及び刀仗を以てし、意、猶、息ま不、前人、悔いを求め、善言懺謝すれど、猶、瞋り解け不るは、是、菩薩の波羅夷罪なり、と。又、云く、猶、奴婢を畜へ、打拍、罵辱せ不れ。日々に三業を起すに、口罪無量なり、云々。而に、近代の山衆は、大師の制式を守ら不、如来の遺戒に順ぜ不、山院中に於て、刑罰を行ふ。事、粗、伝聞有り。況や、童子を打つは、已に以て多々なり。今自り以後、一切禁断す。若、闕犯する有らば、将に交衆を止めん。已に異類と名づく、何に同法と称す乎。

一、授戒の間、乱を成し、妨げを到す者を禁制する事。

（２１）

右、授戒は、是、人を教て、永く佛家に入らしむ之初門、物を引きて、直に道場に至らしむ之中路なり。我朝之大事にして、此の宗之興隆、斯に過ぎたる者は莫き也。而に、戒を提奨すれ者、悪律儀の人、私怨、有る為に、猥りに公事を妨

ぐ。或は、列見之次に、引き出し、冤凌し、或は、登壇之間、乱入し闘逆す。事の狼藉、更に言に足ら不。今自り以後、禁制し、常に異る。若し、不安の有らば、具に愁状を録し、政所に進上し、随て即ち勘糺せらるべし。若し、猶、旧に習ひて、乱逆を到す者あらば、当寺之僧は、永く衆断に処し、他寺の僧、及、沙彌、童子は、其の身を恇捕し、将に検非違使に付し、之を阿容することを得不れ。

一、春秋の二期に房主帳を出す応き事。

（２２）

右、同じく前の式に云く、春秋の二時に、院挙て、毎室、房主帳を作り、政所に進上せよ。其の帳は、各の法号併び国郡姓名を注し、大小漏らさ不、以て恒式と為す。法制に随は不るを、名けて、浪人と為す。山衆に同じから不、豈、利を同ず乎。而に、年来、此の式を守ら不、其の帳を出さ不。現、不を定め難きは、唯、之に由る也。今、従り以後、季に随て、注出し、期を違うことを得不れ。但し、先の式者、近士、童子、皆、注上す可きに似たる也。是、山衆の数、少なく、僧房の多から不る之時の事乎。当今は、依行す可きこと難し。仍て、須く、只、現住の僧名を注出すべし。之を違失す可ら不。

一、山王の二期の御読経の僧、見参之数に随て、住、不を定む応き事。

（２３）

右、山王の慈悲、恩徳は、猶、父母、師君の如し。已に、慈恩を戴くに、何に酬報せ不る。日日の転経、夜夜の念誦、唯、自房、各別の廻向荘厳之誠也。東西の

見住、春秋の上堂、是、大衆、集会の異口同音之勤め也。昔は、見面之多少に依りて、以て、其の身之住、不を定む也。而に、去る天慶年中、四季加修之後、人、多く解怠し、已に参修希なり。唯、大衆同心之勤めを闕くに非ず、兼ねて復、現住、他行之数に迷ふ。仍て、今、復た旧例に還りて、二期を以て定量と為す。当季、不参之者は、即ち、以て、帳より除き、次季、参修之時、還りて、以て、帳に付す。但し、若し、臥病、触穢、或いは公私の請縁に赴く者は、三日之前に政所に申送り、各の在所に於て、其の巻数を満たすべし。又、楞厳院の僧、漸く二百口に及び、峯、谷、険遠にして、見参す可きこと難し。須く、共に、彼の中堂に集会して、各の精誠を致して勤修し、院司、執行は、見参を注送すべきこと、立て、永例と為す。

一、舎利会の日の綱維、堂達、別当の房に参ることを停止する事。

（２４）

右、大会の事、畢て、綱維、堂達、別当の房に参ること、其れ来ること尚し。今年の会日より、始めて以て停止す。其の旨は、如何となれば、善根を随喜すは、経典に出ると雖、進退の儀則は、縦容に有る須し。彼の陳る所を聞くに、猶、誠実、少し。或は、天、晴れ不るを以て、天、晴れと為すと称す。或は、不如法を以て、如法と為すと称す。詞は、虚妄を渉り、多く時の聞こへを養す。況や、自他共に、疲労し、各の任意の楽を欲す。而して、主客、相対し、進退、甚へ難し。仍て、停止する所也。又、六月会、第六日に、聴衆、綱維、講房に向う事、之に准じて停止す。

一、大小綱維は、事に触れ、座主の房に向い、慶賀を陳るを停止する事。

（２５）

右、毎年の舎利会の日、及び、授戒、灌頂の、事、畢りて之後、綱維、共に座主之房に向ひ、慶賀の詞を陳る、其れ来りて已に久し。今自り以後、皆、随ひて、停止す。停止之旨は、略、前条の如し。但し、新任の貫首の初行之日を除くのみ。

一、大小綱維は、互いに礼儀を守る応き事。

（２６）

右、尊を敬ひ、卑きを憐むこと、詳に経律に在り。彼の、一鳥、二獣、猶、所存有り。況や、佛家の僧門、何ぞ守る所無きや。而に、近代の綱維、多く礼儀を忘る。之の法律を論ずに、理、豈、然る可きや。今、須く、上中之座、設ひ、行う所、不当なれど、中下之司、輙く遮止す可ら不るべし。中下之座、設ひ、陳ぶ所、咲ふ可きなれど、上下之司、亦、嘲哢す可ら不。各々思う所を、一々陳べ令め、然る後、其の処分を聴く者也。又、大綱は是、当時之座の上と為す。小綱、尤も敬順す可し。小綱、何ぞ、必ず、後日之師尊に非ずや。大綱、豈、軽蔑す可きや。宜く此の情を悉し、互に其の節を守るべし。

以前の雑制の趣、条々の如く、或は、是、如来之教門、或は、復、先師之遺誡なり。而に、遵行之輩、已に少なく、乖戻之人、更に繁し。爰に、旧風、漸く寒谿之月を扇が不、前跡、殆ど暮の嶺之雲に埋れんと欲す。若し、独り丹心に歎き、徒に台星之下に老いなば、恐く長く白骨に恨み、更に、天使之前を経ん。仍て、小愚之蓄懐を抽し、謹みて、　　大師之明鑑を仰ぐ。東西の諸綱、大小共に悉く、普く山家之一衆に示て、松門之三輪を琢か令めんことを、敬ひて啓す。

天禄元年七月十六日

座主権少僧都法眼和尚位　「良源」

奉行

上座伝燈大法師位　「法㑭」

寺主伝燈大法師位　「寿連」

都維那伝燈大法師位　「聖燈」

Dying Instructions of the Great Archbishop Jie

Jie Daisōjō Goyuigō

慈恵大僧正御遺告

Dying Instructions of the Great Archbishop Jie

On the third day of the fifth month of the third year of Tenroku [972], I begin writing these instructions [to be carried out] after my death.

Yokawa Jōshinbō.[1]

- A cypress bark roof house.[2]

    The main house[3] of five *ken*[4] long with four eaves,[5] three outer eaves,[6] and one extended outer eave .[7]

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[1] 横川定心房, Ryōgen's residential quarter at Yokawa.

[2] 檜皮葺屋, *hiwadabuki-ya*.

[3] 母屋, *omoya*.

[4] 間, *ken*. Width between posts of a house. One *ken* is approximately six feet.

[5] 庇, *hisashi*.

[6] 孫庇, *magobisashi*.

[7] 孫孫庇, *mago-magobisashi*.

- A shingle-roofed house[8] in the west.

The main house of thirteen *ken* long with four eaves.

- Two shingle-roofed houses to the east.

The above mentioned buildings will be permanently entrusted to Myōkōbō[9] [Jinzen]. He should keep these buildings in repair in order to provide for other disciples. This should give the disciples a special advantage so that they can fulfill their wish to complete their residence on Mount Hiei. All resident priests are to serve him [Jinzen] faithfully and will not defy his wishes. The priest who does not follow my order will be permanently expelled from our lineage.[10]

Shingondō.[11]

Five *ken* long with four eaves and two outer eaves.

The above mentioned hall was built by the order of the late lord Kujō[12] [Fujiwara Morosuke]. His lordship, however, passed away while lumber was being prepared for construction. Therefore, the project was

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8板屋, *itaya*.

9妙香房. Name of the residence quarters of Jinzen (943-990), a disciple of Ryōgen, at Yokawa. Jinzen is the tenth son of Fujiwara Morosuke. In this document, Ryōgen refers to him by the name of his residence.

10一門, *ichimon*.

11眞言堂, the hall for exoteric practices.

12九條殿下, *kujō denka*. Kujō was the section in the capital where Morosuke's residence, Bōjōdai, was built. In this document, Ryōgen often refers to Morosuke as the lord of Kujō.

entrusted to the former empress[13] [Fujiwara Anshi] who continued to support the construction project. Half of the lumber and other material for the construction had been prepared while the lord [Kujō] was alive. The princess also sent one hundred *koku*[14] of rice for the construction.[15] In addition, I personally made arrangements to obtain the rest of the lumber and other materials needed. I made every effort to complete the construction in time for the annual memorial service[16] [for lord Kujō]. Therefore, I used my personal funds to obtain more than half of the materials needed to build the hall. Because of the damage caused by wind and rain over many years, the roof now suffers serious leaks. Although I would like to repair the roof, my days are numbered. The administration of this hall is entirely entrusted to Zenji-no-kimi[17] [Jinzen] and so the named Myōkōbō is entrusted with the residence hall in the east. If he does not have enough resources for its repair, he should consult Prime Minister[18] [Fujiwara Koretada[19]]

13前の中宮, *sakino chūgū*. Here Ryōgen refers to Fujiwara Anshi (d.964), a consort of the emperor Murakami. Ryōgen calls her an empress because she was the mother of the emperors Reizei (r. 967-969) and Enyū (r. 969-983).

14斛, *koku*. A unit of measuring quantity. One *koku* is approximately 180.4 litters, 5.2 US bushels, or 47.66 US gallons.

15作料米, *sakuryōmai*.

16御周忌 *goshūki*.

17禪師の君. *Zenji* means a "meditation master." Ryōgen adds an expression of respect "*kimi* (lord)" for Jinzen because of his noble birth.

18太政殿 *dajōdono*.

19藤原伊尹 (924-972). A son of Fujiwara Morosuke.

and other sons [of Morosuke] to help complete the repair. The *ryōbu mandara,*[20] the main statue,[21] and other objects offered by the late lord [Fujiwara Morosuke], and [a picture scroll of] the Pure Land [of Amida][22] offered by the [former] empress [Fujiwara Anshi] are all to be enshrined in this hall. The maintenance of these objects is very important. They should not be handled carelessly.

Original residential quarter in the south ravine.[23]

My cremation[24] is to be held at the original residence.[25] The estate of the residential quarter will be entrusted to Myōkōbō [Jinzen].

Hongakubō at Saitō.[26]

This residence quarters was originally made up of three shingle-roofed houses. For the convenience of the reconstruction of the residence, it

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20両部曼荼羅. Two *maṇḍala,* Diamond realm (*kongōkai,* or *vajra-dhātu* in Sanskrit) and Matrix-store realm (*tazōkai,* or *garbha-dhātu* in Sanskrit) *maṇḍala,* are foundational for esoteric Buddhist practices. These two *maṇḍala* represent wisdom (*chi*) and principle (*ri*) of Vairocana Buddha.

21本尊 *honzon.*

22極楽淨土 *gokuraku jōdo*. Pure Land of the utmost bliss. The name of Amida's Buddha land. In Sanskrit, *Sukhāvatī.*

23南谷根本房地 Minamidani konpon bōchi. The residence quarter which Ryōgen built when he first moved to Yokawa in 949.

24琰壽の日 *enju no hi.*

25根本菴室 *konpon anshitsu.*

26西塔本覚房 Saitō Hongakubō. Ryōgen perhaps inherited this residence from his master Risen.

was traded for the south residence of Byōdōbō [Enshō].[27] I have a written document of the exchange.[28] The transaction was confirmed by the head priest[29] and the senior administrators[30] [at Saitō], as well as, Kōen *ajari*.[31] But. according to the agreement on the day of the trade, "of the three houses, the one to the south, the permanent residence of the late master, was excluded from the trade. The estate [of Enshō] was, therefore, exchanged for the two shingle-roofed houses [of Hongakubō] to the north. The reconstruction project on the east ridge should be completed soon after the trade."

The estate on the east ridge was the estate of the late Heijuin.[32] His disciples signed a document collectively to transfer the estate to me. (At that time, the head administrative officer[33] of Hōdō[in][34] also signed the document.)

27平等房. The fifteenth abbot of Enryakuji, Enshō (879-964). He was appointed abbot in 946. His highest rank in the office of superintending clergy was an archbishop (*sōjō*) to which he was appointed in 958. The emperor Enyū granted him a posthumous name Jinen in 979.

28替文 *kaebumi*.

29院主 *inju*.

30上綱 *jōkō*. One of the three main administrative positions (*sangō*) of a temple, also called *jōza*.

31弘延阿闍梨. (Dates not known.)

32平聚院.

33別当 *bettō*.

34宝幢[院]. One of the sixteen temples Saichō planned to build on Mount Hiei. The temple was built during the Kajō era (848-856) as a prayer-offering temple of the emperor Montoku (827-858, r. 850-858). The temple is also called Hokke Hōdōin and served as the main assembly hall of Saitō area of Enryakuji.

But the late En'nichi *hosshi*[35] forged a document [of ownership to the estate] and left it at the residence of Byōdōbō [Enshō] before he left for his assigned province. The head priest and the senior administrators [of Saitō] had ruled that [the document] was invalid and agreed that the ownership [of the estate] should belong to me per the original contract. Although the official document has not yet been issued, the ruling states, "The ownership of the three houses at Hongakubō all belong to you. But three priests are currently living in Zuijiidō.[36] Therefore, you should be careful not to create disputes with members of the same lineage.[37]" I would like them to find other places to live and to evacuate the residence soon. My days are numbered. At this time, I entrust the residential estate permanently to Senga *ajari*.[38] Shōku [*a*]*jari*[39] should also understand the conditions [of Hongakubō at Saitō]. I would like them to appeal the case [concerning the estates at Saitō] to the head priest and chief administrators [at Saitō] as well as Kōen *ajari* and completely reconfirm the ownership of these two estates to the

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35円日法師. (Dates not known.) *Hosshi* is a title for an ordinaly priest.

36随自意堂. A meditation hall for *higyōhiza-zanmai* (neither walking nor sitting samādhi). According to the *Sanmondōshaki*, the building was one of the four samādhi practice halls planned by Saichō, it was established as a prayer-offering site for the emperor Seiwa (850-880, r. 858-876) during the Jōgan era (859-877). See, *SDK* 162.

37同門 *dōmon*.

38暹賀阿闍梨. (914-998) A disciple of Ryōgen. He became an *ajari* at Gengyōji in 968. He became the twenty-second abbot of Enryakuji in 989. He was also known as Hongakubō *zasu* (abbot), because he inherited Hongakubō from Ryōgen.

39聖救[阿]闍梨. (909-998) A disciple of Ryōgen. Senga's older brother. He became an *ajari* of Enryakuji durign the Tenroku era (970-973).

south and north [of Saitō]. These estates have already become part of the heritage of our lineage.[40] I have already enshrined Yakushi Buddha[41] as the primary revered figure, a thousand-armed Kannon,[42] an image of Shōten,[43] and other statues at the site. I have deeply committed myself to developing the site. In addition, I have already brought in lumber to build a fifteen *ken* long gallery house.[44] I [temporarily used a part of the lumber] to build a music pavilion[45] for the opening service of the Assembly Hall.[46]

> The rest house is only thirteen *ken* long, because the location was not large enough. The rest of the lumber for two *ken* is stored at Nōka.[47]

40先祖 *senzo.*

41薬師佛. Medicine-master Buddha. Also called Yakushirurikō (medicine-master of emerald light) or Bhaiṣajya-guru-vaiḍūrya-prabha in Sanaskrit. The Buddha of the land of Emerald Light (*rurikō*) in the east.

42千手観音 Senju Kannon. Also called Senjusengenkanjizai (Avalokiteśvara with thousand arms and thousand eyes, in Sanskrit, Sahasra-bhuja-sahasra-netra). Kannon who have one thousand arms and an eye on each palm. Thousand is a symbolic figure which indicates Kannon's boundless salvific power but the statue of this type of Kannon usually has only forty arms.

43聖天. An abbreviation of Daishōkangiten. In Sanskrit, Vināyaka or Gaṇeśa. A guardian deity of Buddhism.

44廊屋 *rōya.*

45楽屋 *gakuya.*

46講堂会, *kōdōe* Opening service for the Assembly Hall (Kōdō) held in 972 to celebrate the completion of the reconstruction of major buildings in the Tōtō area that were destroyed by the 966 fire.

47苗鹿. A village located east of Yokawa at the foot of Mount Hiei. Ryōgen built a residence for his mother there in 955.

I want to build, out of necessity, a cypress bark roof house of three *ken* with four eaves and one outer eave, for use as a residential house[48] (and a Buddha hall).

I have explained the details of my plan to Senga [a]*jari* and our co-practitioner Jōan.[49] If I die before I complete the construction, I would like to ask both *ajari[s]* to work together to build the house in order to maintain our legacy.

An estate for a residential house at Tōtō.[50]

Located to the north of the administration office[51] of Jōshin'in.[52]

The above mentioned housing estate belonged to Tani-no-zasu, master[53] [Ryōyū].

His disciple Enken *daihosshi*[54] inherited the estate [from Ryōyū] and resided there. On the day he passed away, the estate was entrusted to

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48宿房 *shukubō.*

49静安同法. A disciple of Ryōgen. Jōan (924-998) was originally a disciple of Kakue (871-954), but was entrusted to Ryōgen after Kakue died. He is called a co-practitioner (*dōhō*) because he was still an ordinary priest in 972. Jōan became an *ajari* of Gengyōji in 975 on the recommendation of Ryōgen. He is also called Kazan *risshi*.

50東塔房地 *Tōtō bōchi.*

51政所 *mandokoro.*

52定心院. A temple built in the Tōtō area. One of the nine major temples of Enryakuji planned by Saichō.

53谷の座主和尚. Ryōyū 良勇 (854-923). The eleventh abbot of Enryakuji. A disciple of Ennin.

54延賢大法師. *Daihosshi* is the highest rank for an ordinary priest.

his disciple Kōmyō.[55] I bought the estate from Kōmyō. The price was one hundred eighty *kanmon*.[56] A [sale] transference document for the estate, a document of contract, a document of request of payment, and other documents are all available. The temple stipend[57] inherited from the master at Byōdōbō, abbot [Enshō], is henceforth given to Myōkōbō [Jinzen]. If he is given a chance to take the position [of abbot] on Mount [Hiei], he should establish a temple with a ministry position. Originally a storage house[58] was built on the estate. I dismantled the storage house and built a house last year, since I urgently needed extra housing[59] while I hurriedly built a tower for Sōjiin.[60] I would like to expand the original plan of the site about a few *shaku*[61] and build two cypress bark roof houses of three *ken* long with four eaves and with one outer eave in the east and west from the center, and three galleries in the south, west, and north. I have not finished my project. My days

55光妙. (Dates not known)

56貫文. A unit of coinage. One *kan* is equivalent of one thousand copper coins (*mon*).

57寺料 *jiryō*.

58校屋 *azeya*.

59雑舎 *zōsha*.

60総持院, Dhāraṇi hall. A temple established by Ennin in 859 as the *abhiṣeka* ordination hall for the Tendai priests. It was founded also as a prayer-offering temple for the emperor Montoku (827-858, r. 850-858). Although the *abhiṣeka* ordination hall was moved to Onjōji in 868 by Enchin, Sōjiin was a symbolic center for Ennin's lineage. The relics of the Buddha Ennin brought back from China were enshrined. The temple was destroyed by fire in 966 and rebuilt in 971.

61尺. A unit of masurement. Oneshaku is approximately 0.303 m, or 0.994ft.

are numbered. I would like [my disciples] to complete this project.

Kazan Chūin Myōgōbō.[62]

This residence was where the great master and senior administrator[63] [of Mount Hiei, Kakue[64]] entered Nirvāṇa. After the great master passed away, a fire broke out. The residence was completely consumed by the fire. Although he had many disciples, no one was qualified to inherit the site. Therefore, I privately built an eleven *ken* long shingle-roofed house with two eaves. Last year, I also built a chamber house[65] of three *ken* long with four eaves and one outer eave. In order to cover the cost of cypress bark roofing and interior modeling, the honorarium[66] for the lecturer[67] of Musashi[68] province, Ryakukyū,[69] should be used. The articles, such as some silk fabric presented last year,

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62華山中院妙業房. Kazan(ji) is another name of Gengyōji in Yamashina. Myōgōbō was the resident quarter of Kakue.

63大師上綱 *daishi jōkō.*

64覚恵 (871-954). An *ajari* at Gengyōji. Kakue recommended Ryōgen that become a Tendai priest when he was a resident priest at Bonshakuji in Ōmi province. He also taught Ryōgen the Tendai method of the esoteric practices.

65寝殿 *shinden*. A palace style house.

66任料 *ninryō.*

67講師 *kōshi.*

68武蔵. A province in Eastern Japan that encompasses present day Tokyo, Saitama prefecture and a part of Kanagawa prefecture.

69暦璆 (Dates not known.)

have already been put into the account. Approximately fifty *kan.*[70] Genzen[71] knows about the official documents [of the account]. The fund was out on loan for the preparation of the opening ceremony of the Assembly Hall.

The building still needs some work. Many due articles have not been received. With the help of the senior[72] and assistant administrators,[73] please collect the dues quickly and complete the construction by the end of this year. Our co-practitioner Jōan knew [the plan of the construction of this site] from the beginning. I would like him to be in charge of [the rest of] the construction. I would like him to commute or stay there once in a while, and carefully supervise the maintenance [of the site]. The legacy of the great master should not be left in disrepair. But Heiyu-no-kimi[74] already has another lodging place there. He is allowed to commute and stay there, too. Among other co-practitioners,[75] those who wish to reside there should also be given proper assistance to do so. I also want to build a cart shed[76] in the south

70貫. A unit of coinage. One *kan* is equivalent of one thousand copper coins (*mon*).

71源漸, a disciple of Ryōgen. (Dates not known.)

72法能 *hōnō.*

73勾當 *kōtō.*

74平愉君, a disciple of Ryōgen. (Dates not known.)

75同法 *dōhō.*

76車宿 *kuruma yado.*

east corner,[77] a seven *ken* long house, a priestly residence house in the east, a gallery in the west, and other buildings. But I do not have enough funds. After this old priest [Ryōgen] passes away, I hope someone will build [these buildings]. The remainder of the honorarium for Ryakukyū, if there is any, should also be used to build necessary buildings according to the funds available.

Nōkain.[78]

- A cypress bark roof house.

  Five *ken* long with three eaves. There is a breezeway[79] in the east.

- A shingle-roofed large kitchen house.[80]

  Four *ken* long with two eaves.

Genzen's mother has lived in the above mentioned houses for years. After this little priest [Ryōgen] passes away, I am afraid both mother and son will not have anyone to rely on. While I lie in my sickbed and think of their situation, I can not help but cry [for them]. I would like other co-practitioners to visit and offer her help. After that old nun passes away, Genzen should manage the place. If he is not able to reside

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77巽角 *tatsumi no sumi.*

78苗鹿院. Nōka is a village located east of Yokawa at the foot of Mount Hiei. Ryōgen built a residence for his mother there in 955.

79近廊, *gonrō*

80大炊屋 *ōtakiya.*

on Mount Hiei, he may dismantle the house and rebuild his residence there.

- An administration office building.[81]

An eleven *ken* long shingle-roofed with two eaves.

This building is an auxiliary of the prayer-offering site.[82] The manager of the temple,[83] as well as Myōkōbō [Jinzen], should know of this arrangement.

- A cabin[84] on the northern border.

Seven *ken* long with two eaves.

This house was once destroyed by a fire. Anjin,[85] as a director,[86] worked hard to rebuild the house. Therefore, Anjin should manage it. The manager of [Nōka]in[87] should allocate a budget [for its remodeling] if necessary.

81政所屋 *mandokoroya.*

82御願所別院, *goganjo betsuin.*

83院司 *inshi.*

84木屋 *kiya.*

85安真 (?-998) A disciple of Ryōgen. He became a superintendent in 988 for his efforts in reconstructing Sufukuji in Ōmi province. He became the head administrative officer of the temple. He became a minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*) in 998.

86行事 *gyōji.*

87院家 *inge.*

- Two storage houses.

  They should be built west of the administration office.

  Funds [for the construction of the buildings] were entrusted to Senga. Purchase lumber for the construction and build them as soon as possible, and use them as special storage houses[88] for [Nōka]in.

- A set of lumber for a nine *ken* long house with two [eaves].

  The lumber was delivered from Tomoyui-no-shō.[89]

  All of the lumber has been delivered. The house should be built in a suitable place between the mountain and [Nōka]in. I have also ordered Tomoyui-no-shō to prepare and deliver lumber for a chamber house. [I am afraid] if I die of this illness, [people in Tomoyui-no-shō] might not complete my order. Three senior administrators[90] and Senga should remember the order and demand its delivery. I have also ordered Okaya-no-shō[91] to prepare and deliver lumber for a seven *ken* long house. [Administrators] should have the lumber readied as soon as possible. The lumber ordered for these two houses is needed to establish [Nōka]in. [The administrators] should take proper measures

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88別納所 *betsunōsho.*

89鞆結庄. A manor at Takashima-gun in Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture. Ryōgen acquired this manor from the Tsuno family through their connection with Fujiwara Morosuke who represented Ryōgen as a mediator. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

90三綱 *sangō.* Three main temple administrators: *jōza, jishu,* and *tsuina.*

91岡屋庄. A manor at Gamō-gun in Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture. Ryōgen acquired this manor from Fujiwara Morosuke's family according to his will. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

to [complete the project].

- A shingle-roofed house, three *ken* long with four [eaves], at Koyama.[92]

Heiyu no kimi knows about this house.

The above mentioned house was built to take care of Meigō's[93] mother who does not have anyone to rely on. The construction was completed last year and she has already moved into the house. Since my schedule is very tight, I have yet to visit her. But my days are numbered. After I leave this world, she will become more and more dependent. Lying in my sickbed, I lament her situation. Every co-practitioner should remember this. It would be nice of you to visit her occasionally and inquire about her comfort. Meigō is a student with a keen intellectual appetite. He also wishes to fulfill his filial duties once he has successfully established his career. But he is not yet able to do so, I sympathize with his situation.

Okaya-no-shō.

Farmland, approximately one hundred sixty *chō*.[94] There is a certificate of title [for the estate].

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92 小山.

93 明豪 (953-1002). Also known as Hōkōin sōjō. He became the first *ajari* at Jitokuji in 973. He was appointed minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*) in 996, and became a great archbishop (*daisōjō*) in 1002.

94 丁. A unit of measuring size of farming land. One *chō* is approximately 2.451 acres.

The above mentioned manor[95] was originally owned by the late lord Kujō [Fujiwara Morosuke]. When he passed away, the land was donated to Hokkedō[96] according to his dying instruction. The original area of the farmland [of the manor] was approximately one hundred twenty *chō*. The expected annual farm income[97] is twenty to thirty *koku* [of rice]. After the temple gained title of the land, I made a careful inspection and the area of farmland [of the manor], [and discovered it] to be one hundred sixty *chō*. An official document from the Council of State[98] was issued exempting it from farmland tax[99] and tax in kind.[100] Fifty people of the manor, including a manager[101] and tenant farmers,[102] are exempted from miscellaneous labor services.[103]

Revenue from the annual farm income [of the manor] has doubled every year. Last year, the income reached one hundred sixty *koku*. Administrative policy of this old priest [compels the administrator of

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95庄, *shō*.

96法華堂, Lotus hall, or Hokkezanmaidō. A meditation hall built in Ryōgon'in at Yokawa to practice the *Lotus Sūtra samādhi* (*hokkezanmai*). This building was donated by Fujiwara Morosuke in 954.

97地子年料 *chishi nenryō*.

98官符, *kanpu*. An abbreviation of *dajōkanpu*, 太政官符.

99租税, *sozei*. Taxation on farming land, usually paid by rice crop.

100官物, *kanmotsu*.

101庄司, *shōji*.

102庄子, *shōko*.

103雑役, *zōeki*.

the manor] to continue land reclamation by utilizing effectively the resources of the manor and to try to double the revenues from farm income. The manager of the temple should understand this very well. Annual farm income [of the manor] should be divided into three parts. One third [of the revenue] should be appropriated to cover the expenses to maintain the perpetual lamp[104] of the Hokkedō.

> [This amount should be] three *gō*[105] per day. If there is a surplus, it should be applied to the clothing expenses of the priests of the hall.[106] The temple should not be overstocked with the silk goods annually supplied by Imperial Storehouse Bureau.[107] The manager of the temple should be careful to maintain other necessary supplies.

One third [of the revenue] should be appropriated to cover the maintenance expenses of the temple.

> If the Hokkedō does not need repairs, the budget may be applied to maintain other temples, towers, and miscellaneous buildings.

One third [of the revenue] should be appropriated to cover the expenses for the eight lectures[108] [on the *Lotus Sūtra*].

104常燈料, *jōtōryō*.

105合, *gō*. A unit for mesuring grain. One *gō* is approximately 0.381 US pint, or 180 ml.

106堂僧, *dōsō*.

107内蔵寮, *kuraryō*.

108八講, *hakkō*. An abbreviation of *Hokke hakkō*. Lectures on the eight volumes of the *Lotus Sūtra*. It is held twice a day, at morning and evening sessions for four days. The *hokke hakkō* is usually conducted as a part of the annual memorial service. The earliest record of the

> The eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*], at which I have officiated for years, are held for the sake of ourselves and others equally throughout the Dharma realm.[109] Since the lord [Fujiwara Morosuke] passed away, I have officiated at the lectures during his memorial [service] days[110] to transfer merit[111] for his enlightenment.[112] The Prime Minister,[113] the lord [Fujiwara Koretada], however, currently takes care of [the memorial services for Morosuke]. The services need not be held twice. Therefore, after I pass away, the lectures should be conducted during the memorial days, either at the beginning or the ending.

The eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*] held during the annual memorial service[114] should include doctrinal debates.[115] Some people place a taboo on this. This [seems] ridiculous to me.

practice of the *hakkō* goes back to the Enrayku era (782-806) and to the priests at Tōdaiji in Nara. The practice gradually became popular among the courtiers during the Heian period. The practice of the *hakkō* in the Tendai school significantly became popular after Ryōgen promoted the practice of the *hokke hakkō*.

109自他法界平等利益, *jita hokka byōdō riyaku*.

110忌日, *kijitsu*.

111廻向, *ekō*.

112菩提, *bodai*.

113太政殿下. Fujiwara Koretada (藤原尹伊: 924-972) was the Prime Minister of the imperial court in 972.

114一周忌, *isshūki*.

115論議, *rongi*.

[Doctrinal debate] is the main practice[116] of this ailing priest. In order to attain buddhahood, one should practice [debate]. [All] my disciples should understand this. If they appreciate my advice, they must practice both lecture and debate.[117] Other virtuous [practices] are not necessary. The virtue created by sponsoring the eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*] is transferred to all sentient beings and eliminates their evil passions,[118] generates wisdom,[119] and helps in attaining buddhahood swiftly. [The virtue of the lectures] is also transferred to the late lord [Fujiwara Morosuke] and will help him escape the cycle of birth and death in the three realms[120] and to attain the wondrous state[121] of the one true[122] [thusness]. [Virtue] will also be transferred to the spirit of this old priest.

The twenty *chō* rice field was purchased from Kiyohara

116本業, *hongō.*

117講説論議, *kōzetsu rongi.*

118煩悩, *bonnō.*

119智慧, *chie.*

120三界, *sangai.* The three realms of the world of transmigration: *yokkai* (the realm of desire, or *kāma-dhatu*) which includes six realms of existence (hell, hungry spirits, animals, fighting spirits, human beings, and heaven); *shikikai* (the realm of form, or *rūpa-dhātu*) in which beings exist without sexual desire nor appetites; and *mushikikai* (the realm of non-form, or *arūpa-dhātu*) in which beings exist without material elements and enjoy only meditative states.

121妙位, *myōi.*

122一真, *isshin.*

Naohira.[123] Income from the farm is available to us from this year. The rent should be appropriated to cover the maintenance expenses of the private residences.

Tomoyui-no-shō.

Owned farmland approximately sixty *chō*.[124]

This manor was originally owned by Tsuno Yoshiko's[125] ancestors. [The transfer of ownership of the estate] was mediated by the late judge,[126] senior clerk,[127] Taketsure.[128] With an official certificate of ownership[129] attached, [the estate] was permanently incorporated [into the temple]. I consulted the late lord of Bōjō[130] [Fujiwara Morosuke[131]] about [the acquisition of] the estate. The lord issued his official notice[132]

123清原直平. (Dates not known.)

124町. Same as 丁. A unit of measuring size of farming land. One *chō* is approximately 2.451 acres.

125角好子. (Dates not known.)

126判事, *hanji*.

127大屬, *daisakan*.

128武連 (Dates not known).

129公験, *kugen*.

130坊城殿 *Bōjōdono. Bōjō* refers to Morosuke's residence, named *bōjōdai*.

131藤原師輔. (908-960)

132御牒, *gyochō*.

to the province[133] to certify [the manor][134]. During the reign[135] of the [currently] abdicated emperor[136] [Reizei], I consulted[137] his highness about [the acquisition of] the estate. [His highness] ordered the Council of State and Ministry of Popular Affairs to issue an official document[138] to the province. The province executed the order. The documents are kept in the county[139] office. [The manor] has been exempted from farmland tax. Sixty people of the manor, including a manager and tenant farmers, are exempted from miscellaneous corvee. Farm income collected from the above mentioned manor should be appropriated to cover the expenses to maintain the Hokkedō lamp during seasonal repentance services.[140] One lamp per night. The remainder [of the farm rent] is entrusted to the manager of the residence.[141] [The remainder] should be appropriated to cover the expenses of the perpetual lamp for the main figure [of the Hokkedō]

133国, *kuni,* or *koku.*

134立券, *rikken.*

135御宇, *gyou.*

136上皇, *jōkō.* Here, Ryōgen refers to the former emperor Reizei who abdicated the throne and was succeeded by his younger brother prince Morihira (the emperor En'yū) in 969.

137奏聞, *sōmon.*

138官省符, *kanshōfu.*

139郡, *gun* or *kōri.*

140四季懺法, *shiki senpō.*

141房司, *bōshi.*

and residential houses after consultation with Zenji-no-kimi [Jinzen].

Tate[iri]-no-shō.[142]

The size of the farmland is recorded on the certificate of title.[143]

[The manor] is located in Yasu county.[144]

This manor was owned by the late Hata Chikanari,[145] a former the provincial secretary.[146] According to his will, the estate was donated to cover the expenses of the perpetual lamps for the *ryōbumandara* and the *Daihannya-kyō*.[147] Therefore, [the revenue of the manor] should be appropriated only for these expenses. It should not be diverted to other purposes.

Kurodae-nishi-no-shō.[148]

The size of the farmland is recorded on the certificate of title.

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142 立[入]庄. A manor at Yasu-gun in Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

143券文, *kenmon.*

144野洲郡, Yasu-gun is located in the south-eastern part of Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture.

145秦近生 (?)

146掾, *jō.*

147大般若經. *Mahāprjñā-pāramitā-sūtra.*

148黒田江西庄. A manor at Takashima-gun in Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

[The manor] is located in Takashima county.[149]

This manor was donated by Tsuno Takeyasu, Shigekata[150] and others for the enlightenment of their ancestors. Farm income [from the manor] should be appropriated to cover the expenses of the perpetual lamp. The remainder is entrusted to the manager of the residence. [The remainder] should be appropriated to cover the maintenance expenses of the residential houses and other miscellaneous expenses after consulting with Zenji-no-kimi [Jinzen].

Takaya-no-shō.[151]

The size of the farmland is recorded on the certificate of title.

[The manor] is located in Kanzaki county.[152]

This manor was donated by Kuwana Tadamura[153] and others to help their ancestors attain buddhahood. The management rules of the farm income [of the manor] are to follow the example of Kurodae-no-shō.

149高島郡. Takashima-gun is located in the western part of Ōmi province.

150角武康, 重名 (Dates not known).

151高屋庄. A manor at Kanzaki-gun in Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

152神崎郡. Kanzaki-gun is located in the western part of Ōmi province, present day Shiga prefecture.

153桑名忠村. (Dates not known.)

Mitsu-no-mikuri.[154]

[The manor] is located in Shimane county in Izumo province.[155] This island was donated by the late commander of the large sling corp[156] Tsurakuni.[157] Annual revenue [from the manor], made in kind, such as sea weed, is appropriated first to cover the expenses of priests of Hokkedō. [The remainder] is then used for offerings given to priests participating in services,[158] such as *fudan-nenbutsu*[159] practices or the eight lectures [on the *Lotus Sūtra*].

Shitsumi-no-ho.[160]

[The manor] is located in Wakasa province.[161] The size of the estate is recorded on the certificate of title. The estate was purchased for thirty *kanmon*. [The purchase] was mediated by Teimyō.[162]

154三津厨. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

155出雲国、島根郡. Izumo province is located in the eastern part of present day Shimane prefecture.

156大弩師, Ōyumi-no-shi.

157貫邦 (Dates not known).

158僧供料.

159不断念佛. Continuous recitation of Amida's name.

160志積浦. See a map, "Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen," in Appendices.

161若狭国.

162程妙. (Dates not known.)

This inlet was originally owned by Yōzei-in.[163] The ownership was transferred to the late associate governor[164] of Mikawa province,[165] Tōkata.[166] After he passed away, [the estate] was purchased from his widow. Henceforth, the estate is permanently entrusted to Myōkōbō [Jinzen].

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Item: A collection of scriptures on exoteric and esoteric teachings.[167]

I lost the catalogue of scriptures while moving from one place to another on Mount Hiei. Therefore, I am not able to identity them immediately. A [new] catalogue should be made as soon as possible.

This [scripture collection] is entrusted to Zenji-no-kimi [Jinzen]. [The collection] should be kept in the scripture repository[168] as it always has been. [The scripture] may, however, be perused [by Jinzen] whenever necessary. If any disciple priest needs to borrow [scriptures] from the repository, he must obtain a written loan permission. Loaned

163陽成院. The former emperor Yōzei (868-949, r. 876-884).

164権守, *gonnokami.*

165三河.

166遠名 (Dates not known).

167顕密法文, *kenmitsu hōmon.*

168經蔵, *kyōzō.*

[scriptures] must be returned to the repository as soon as the borrower has finished. Do not lose any [items from the collection]. A master's contribution [to his disciples] is his teaching.[169] Do not lose or disperse [the collection].

My collection of texts at Hongakubō, however, has been scattered and lost in recent years. None [of my collection] is left [at Hongakubō]. Scriptures left [at Hongakubō] were entrusted to Senun,[170] the reader[171] of Yamashiro province.[172] There is a separate catalogue [of his collection]. These scriptures should be kept at that residence [Hongakubō]. Senga and Shōku *ajari* should understand this arrangement. They must examine the collection to prevent it from becoming scattered and lost. The reason is the same as above.

As for Myōgōbō's[173] collection of scriptures, I reviewed and sealed it after the forty-ninth-day service of the late master and senior administrator of Mount Hiei [Kakue]. Since my schedule was very tight, I have not perused the collection. I request our co-practitioner Jōan to be in charge of examining the collection. Both of our co-practitioners Senmi[174] and Heiyu should also be informed about the

169法門, *hōmon.*

170千雲. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

171読師, *dokushi.* An assistant of *kōshi* (lecturer).

172山城.

173A residence quarter of Kakue *ajari* at Gengyōji.

174千美. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

condition of the collection. They should prevent it from being scattered and lost.

Item: Instruments.

- One ring.[175] One sword.[176] One five-pronged *vajra*.[177]

  [These items] are stored at Ban-no-daibu's[178] residence.

- One mirror.[179] One knife.[180] Five flower vases.[181]

  These mentioned [articles] are kept in a lacquered box.[182]

  [The box] is old and damaged.

  After the great master and senior administrator of Mount Hiei [Kakue] passed away, these [articles] were taken into custody by his co-practitioners. They should be installed properly at Myōgōbō's buddha-shrine[183] as soon as the construction is done. I request our co-

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175鈴, *rei*. An implement used for esoteric ritual.

176剣, *ken*. An implement used for esoteric ritual.

177五鈷, *goko*. An implement used for esoteric ritual.

178伴大夫. (Dates not known.) *Daibu* is an officer assigned to the emperor's consorts' chambers.

179鏡, *kyō*. An implement used for esoteric ritual.

180鉀 *hei*. An implement used for esoteric ritual.

181花瓶, *kahin*, or *kebyō*.

182蒔絵筥, *makiebako*.

183佛壇, *butsudan*.

practitioner Jōan to be in charge of this.

- Eight rings.

- One three-pronged *vajra* ring.[184] One single-pronged *vajra* ring.[185] One jeweled ring.[186]

    [These articles] are fairly new. [These items] were sold by Arishige.[187]

  These three items are to be given to Myōkōbō [Jinzen].

- One five-pronged *vajra* ring.[188] One *stūpa*-ring.[189]

    Old, Tang [Dynasty].[190] Old.

  These two items have been installed at the buddha-shrine. They should remain at their current location.

- One five-pronged *vajra* ring.

    I have used [this instrument] for years.

184三鈷鈴, *sankorei.* An implement used for esoteric ritual.

185独鈷鈴, *dokkorei.* An implement used for esoteric ritual.

186宝鈴, *hōrei.* An implement used for esoteric ritual.

187有茂. (Dates not known.)

188五鈷鈴, *gokorei.* An implement used for esoteric ritual.

189卒塔婆鈴, *sotobarei.* An implement used for esoteric ritual.

190古唐, *kotō.*

The above mentioned item <blank>

- One stūpa-ring.

  New. [This item] was sold by Arishige. A relic of the Buddha[191] is installed inside.

The above mentioned item <blank>

- One stūpa-ring.

  Old. [This item] was sold by a disciple of the late Nyoshō *daitoku.*[192] Shōō[193] mediated the purchase. a relic of the Buddha is installed inside.

The above mentioned item <blank>

- Four five-pronged *vajra.*

One *vajra,* which I have used for years, is to be given to the Prime Minister [Fujiwara Koretada].

One *vajra* is to be given to Zenji-no-kimi [Jinzen].

One *vajra,* which I used for years, is currently at Meishō's[194] residence.

191佛舍利, *busshari.*

192如照大德. (Dates not known.)

193昌應. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

194明證. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

[This item] is to be given to Meishō.

One *vajra* is currently at Ban-no-daibu's residence. I have received benefits from his household for years. It should not be taken back [from him].

- Two single-pronged *vajra*.[195]

One is at the residence of the third daughter of the emperor[196] [Hōshi naishinnō]. [This item] is a bequest to the princess. It should not be taken back [from her].

The other is in my hand. [This item] is given to <blank>

- Two rings.[197]

One is at the residence of a tonsured consort of the emperor.[198] It should not be taken back [from her].

The other is at the residence of the Middle Controller of the Right.[199]

195独鈷 *dokko.*

196女三宮, *nyo sannnomiya*. The third daughter of the emperor Murakami, Hōshi *naishinnō* (保子内親王). A consort of Fujiwara Kaneie (929-990).

197鈴 *rei.*

198入道 女御殿, *nyūdōnyōgo dono.*

199右中辨, *uchūben.*

Our co-practitioner Jōan mediated its purchase. [The administrator] should request the return [of this item] immediately and keep it in our custody. [This item] originally belonged to the late lay servant of Sei[200] [Kiyohara].)

- Meditation beads.[201]

Two strands of [meditation beads] made from bodhi-tree seeds.[202]

One is to be given to <blank>. One is to be given to Zenji-no-kimi [Jinzen]. They are kept in the incense-burner case.[203]

One string [of meditation beads] made from *rudrākṣa*-tree seeds.[204]

[This item] is given to <blank>.

[A string of meditation beads] made from crystal.[205]

One sting of [meditation beads] made from green beads.[206]

200清. An abbribiation of Kiyohara (清原) family.

201念珠, *nenju.*

202菩提子, *bodaishi.*

203香炉筥, *kōrobako.*

204金剛子, *kongōshi.*

205水精, *suishō.*

206緑珠, *ryokuju.*

[A string of meditation beads] made from lotus seeds.[207]

[A string of meditation beads] made from soapberry seeds.[208]

[A string of meditation beads] made from white sandalwood.[209]

[A string of meditation beads] made from red sandalwood.[210]

- Four sets of incense-burners.[211]

  One set of yellow copper.[212]

  One set of silver.

  One set of white copper.[213]

207蓮子, *renshi.*

208木患子, *mukuroji.*

209白檀, *byakudan.*

210紫檀, *shitan.*

211香炉, *kōro.*

212鍮石, *chūseki.*

213白銅, *hakudō*. A kind of bronze which contains a larger portion of tin.

One set of new copper.[214]

- One wish-fulfilling [scepter].[215]

- Two sets of quilted surplices.[216]

- Two sets of three robes.[217]

<blank space>

Item: Concerning [my] funeral service.[218]

I will select the site of my grave[219] myself.

Please chose some pleasant site to the north [of my residence] if I pass away before I select the site.

214新銅.

215如意, *nyoi.* A scepter used by priest during services or lecture.

216衲袈裟, *nōgesa.*

217三衣, *sanne.* Three types of Buddhist surplices used by a Buddhist priest: *sōgyari* (*saṃghāṭī*), a surplice made of nine to twenty-five pieces of cloth; *uttarasō* (*uttara-āsaṅga*), a surplice made of seven pieces of cloth; and *andae* (*antar-vāsa*), a surplice made of five pieced of cloth.

218葬送, *sōsō.*

219墓地, *bochi.*

A coffin[220] should be made while I am alive.

> If I pass away before the coffin is ready, please have it ready by the end of the day and place [my body] in it during the night. Do not wait to chose a lucky day or an hour.[221]

[The body] must be buried within three days after I pass away. Do not delay the schedule.

My disciples are not to dress in white mourning clothes[222] or wear flax rope belts.[223] Do not disobey the teaching [of the Buddha]. At the site of my grave, a mourning chamber,[224] a wooden fence,[225] and other arrangements should be prepared according to custom.

The following people are in charge of placing my body in the coffin.[226]

220棺, *kan*.

221吉日時, *kichinichiji*.

222素服, *sofuku*.

223縄帯, *nawaobi*.

224高屋, *takaya*.

225板垣, *itagaki*.

226入棺所, *nyūkansho*.

Jōan, Keiu,[227] Ikoku,[228] Ryōun,[229] Ryōchin,[230] Anjin, Genzen, Myōun,[231] Shōō.

Cremation.[232]

Officiants. Jōkū,[233] Kakuzen-no-kimi.[234]

He is a very good friend. I appoint him because we have made promises to each other on this matter.

Dōchō,[235] Ryōun, Chinjō,[236] Anjin, Genzen.

Miscellaneous responsibilities. Dōho,[237] Shukukyū.[238]

227慶有. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

228伊谷. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

229良運. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

230良陳. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

231妙雲. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

232焼所, *yakisho.*

233静空. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

234覚禪君. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

235道朝. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

236陳常. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

237道保. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

238宿久. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

Collection of bones.[239]

> This should be done by the people who are in charge of my coffin and cremation.

I would like to prepare a stone pillar[240] and install it at my grave site while I alive. Please erect a temporary pillar, if I pass away before it is installed. Then dig a hole about three or four *shaku* deep, place my bones at the bottom of the hole, and fill up the hole with soil. A stone pillar should be made within forty-nine days[241] to replace [the temporary one]. [The stone pillar] is a marker for my disciples who will visit the site. Mantras, such as Zuigu, Daibucchō, Sonshō, Kōmyō, Goji, Amida,[242] are to be placed inside of the pillar. I would like to write

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239拾骨所, *shūkotsusho.*

240石卒都婆, *ishisotoba*. A stone *stūpa*. A marker of a burial mound. An octagonal stone post set up on the burial mound. It is called *sotoba* (*stūpa* in Sanskrit) since the tablet is in the shape of a stūpa pillar. See picture, "Ryōgen's Grave," in Appendices.

241四十九日, *shijūkunichi*. A period of seven weeks after death during which the deceased remains in an intermediate state between death and the next life (*chūu*, or *antarā-bhava* in Sanskrit).

242随求・大佛頂・尊勝・光明・五字・阿彌陀等の眞言. Shingon (*mantra*) is a syllable or phrase embodying mystic truth. *Zuigu* refers to a *mantra* of bodhisattva Zuigu (wish-fulfilling), an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, which appears in the *Zuigu-kyō* (Taisho 22, No. 1153). This *mantra* is effective for fulfilling the practitioner's wish. *Daibucchō* refers to *daibucchō-ju* which appears in the *Shuryōgon-gyō* (*Daibucchō nyorai mitsuin shushō ryōgi shobosatsu mangyō shuryōgon-gyō*, Taisho 19, No 945). This *mantra* is effective for driving away evil spirits and curing diseases. *Sonshō* refers to a *mantra* of Bucchō-sonshō, the most august sage manifested from the Buddha's head; Bucchō-sonshō removes hindrances. This mantra is effective for ensuring longevity and preventing natural disasters. *Kōmyō* refers to *fukū-daikanjōkō-shingon,* a spell which is effective for removing evil karma. This *mantra* is believed to remove all evil karma of the deceased when sand, empowered with this *mantra,* is sprinkled over the body or grave (*dosha kaji*). *Goji* refers to *goji-Monju-ju* (five letter Mañjuśrī spell) which consisted of five Sanskrit syllables, A, RA, PA, CA, and NA. Amida refers to *mantras* of Amida Buddha. There are three spells, *ichiji-ju* (one character spell), *shōshu* (small spell), and *daishu* (great spell). These *mantras* are all effective for extinguishing evil *karma*

them while alive. If I pass away before I write them, I would like to ask Ryōshō,[243] Dōchō, Keiu and other co-practitioners to write them.

Caretakers.[244]

Ninju,[245] Keiu, Shōō, Kōkō,[246] Heikaku.[247]

Practice *nembutsu* [248] and other merit offering services[249] for forty-nine days.

Hokkedō. Twelve priests.

Practice repentance services[250] at the main hall three times a day.[251]

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and producing virtues for the deceased.

243良昭. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

244留守人, *rusunin*.

245仁樹. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

246康公. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

247平覚. (Dates not known.) A disciple of Ryōgen.

248念佛, recitation of the name of Amida Buddha.

249追福, *tsuifuku*. Doing virtuous deeds to increase the merit of the deceased.

250懺法. Refers to *Hokke senbō*, or *Hokke zanmai senbō*. A method of annulling sins based on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

251三時. Morning, midday, and evening.

Jōgyōdō.[252] Fourteen priests.

Practice *nembutsu* at the main hall three times a day.

Nenjudō.[253]

Ten priests for *sūtra* chanting.[254]

Two sessions a day, morning and evening, chant the *Lotus sūtra*. Recite mantra of Sonshō at the first and last night sessions.[255]

Ten priests for *nembutsu* practice.[256]

Practice *nembutsu* three times a day.

The first seventh day [memorial service].

Fee for *sūtra* chanting. A set of robes for daily services.

The service should be held at Nenju-dō.

252常行堂. Constant practice hall or Jōgyōzanmaidō. A meditation hall for the constant practice *samādhi* (*jōgyōzanmai*), built in Ryōgon-in at Yokawa. This building was donated by the emperor Reizei in 968.

253念誦堂. A hall for *nenju* ritual in which practitioners think intensely of a Buddha (*nen*) and recite a *sūtra*, a buddha's name or a mantra (*ju*).

254読経僧, *dokyōsō*.

255初・後夜. Approximately 8 P.M. (*shoya*) And 4 A.M. (*goya*).

256念佛僧, *nenbutsusō*.

The third seventh day [memorial service]. *Sūtra* chanting.[257]

The service should be held at Jōgyōdō.

The fifth seventh day [memorial service]. *Sūtra* chanting.

The service should be held at Hokkedō.

The seventh seventh day [memorial service]. *Sūtra* chanting.

The above mentioned [instructions] were recorded as I am in my sick bed between the third and sixteenth day of the fifth month. I shall make amendments to these instructions later, if I find revision necessary.

<written on the back of side of the end of the scroll>

On the day of my death, two seals, the official seal of the prayer-offering [temple] and a private seal, are entrusted to Myōkōbō [Jinzen]. One seal that of Ryōgon'in,[258] is entrusted to the manager of the temple. He must follow the

257誦經, *zukyō*.

258楞厳院. Also known as Shuryōgon'in, headquarters of Yokawa, established by Ennin in 831.

directions of [the administrator of] Sakinotōin.[259]

An official letter[260] of request to appoint Myōkōbō [Jinzen] to become the supervisor of the prayer-offering temple[261] should be presented as soon as [the services] for the forty-nine day period [after my death] are completed.

<on the back of the seam of the last sheet of the scroll>

Nineteen sheets. (Signature[262])

259前唐院. Also known as Zentōin. Originally Ennin's resident quarters at Tōtō. The building became a memorial hall for Ennin, called Tōin (T'ang hall), in which his disciples kept the scriptures and other articles Ennin brought back from T'ang China and . Later this hall was called "*Saki no* Tōin (or Zentōin)" which means "earlier built Tōin" because a similar memorial hall was established for Enchin, which was called Nochinotōin or Kōtōin ("*Nochi no* Tōin, later built Tōin").

260解文, *gemon.*

261御願院検校, *gogan'in kengyō.*

262花押 *kaō.*

慈恵大僧正御遺告

天禄三年、五月三日、初て没後の事を記す。

横川定心房。

- 檜皮葺屋、一宇。（母屋五間。庇四面。孫庇三面。孫孫庇一面。）
- 西板屋、一宇。（母屋十三間。庇四面。）
- 東板屋、二宇。

右、永く妙香房[尋禪]に付属し奉る。且は修理を加へ、且は遺弟等に便宜を得しめよ。殊に恩顧を加へ、住山の志を遂げ令め了れ。法師等、一向隨順に奉仕し、違逆し奉る可ら不。　若し、此の教に順ぜざる有らば、永く一門を放つ耳。

眞言堂。（五間。四面庇。二面孫庇。）

右の堂、故九條殿下[藤原師輔]の仰せの旨に依て、材木を採り、儲くるの間、殿下、薨逝す。 仍て、事の由を前の中宮[藤原安子]に於啓し、造立する所也。材木料物の半分は、殿下御存生の時、充て被る也。

又、中宮従り賜る所の作料米、百斛許り、此の外、材木及び作料、私に方略を廻し勤仕す。是即ち御周忌に合せん為に奔営する所也。然れば則ち件の御堂の料物、半分以上は、私に勤仕する所也。年来風雨の為に吹き損ぜ被れ、漏湿尤も甚し。葺き改んと欲する間、餘命将に尽きんとす。此の御

堂は、一向、禪師の君[尋禪]の御進退也。妙香房の號、東方に在るに依て也。若し、修治せ被るに、御力及び難けれ者、早く太政殿[藤原伊尹]、并に次々の君達に啓せ被れ、修復せ被る可き者也。故、殿[藤原師輔]御願の両部曼荼羅、并に御本尊等、中宮[藤原安子]御願の極楽淨土は、皆、件の堂に安置す。等閑せ被る可ら不。努力、努力。

南谷根本房地。

件の地の根本菴室を以て、琰壽の日を充行し、地を以て妙香房[尋禪]に奉じ、先ず了れ。

西塔本覺房。

件の房、本、板屋三宇也。　改立の便宜を得んが為め、平等房領の南房と相替へ了ぬ。替文有り。院主、上綱、并に弘延阿闍梨、具に志す所也。但し、相替ふる之日、相約して云ふ。三宇の中、南の一宇は、是れ先師久住の處也。相替ふるを得不れ者、北の板屋二宇を以て、彼の御領の房に相替ふる也。而して、相替ふるの後、早く東尾に壊作せ被れ了よ。

彼の東尾の地は、是れ、故平聚院の領也。彼の遺弟等、連署し、弊房に付属し了ぬ。（当時の、宝幢[院]別当、署を加うる也。）而るに、故圓日法師、文書を作構し、平等房に置き上り、任国に向ふ也、云々。　院主、上綱、共に此れ理に非らざる之由を志し、本の如く、弊領為る可き之由を相約せ被れ了ぬ。

但し、未だ文書を度せ被れども、相約せ被る詞に云ふ。本覺房の三宇の地は、悉く汝が領為る可き者なり。而して隨自意堂の三僧、今于宿住す。同門の間、相論す可ら不。　他所を求め、移住せ令んと欲る之程、餘命期し難し。今、件の房地を永く暹賀阿闍梨に付属し了る。　聖救闍梨同じく共に之を知る可し。事の由を具に院主、上綱、弘延阿闍梨に申し、南北二房の地、悉く之を領掌す可し。件の房既に先祖の遺跡為る也。　　本尊藥師

佛・千手観音・聖天像等、今に安置す。修造の志尤も切なり。且つは、十五間廊屋の材木、之を運度せ令む。是れ講堂会日の楽屋にして私に造する所也。（楽屋は十三間、地狭に依て也。其の遺の二間の材料は、苗鹿に在り。）

宿房（兼堂）料三間、四面庇、一面孫庇、檜皮葺屋、必ず構立せんと欲す。其の由、暹賀闍梨・静安同法、具に聞く所也。　若し、未だ作らざる間に、遂に命を殞すれ者、両闍梨、力を合せ造作し、殊に遺迹を守る耳。

東塔房地一所。（定心院政所の北に在り。）

右の房地、是れ谷の座主和尚[良勇]の御領地也。

彼の遺[弟]延賢大法師、傳領住持の後、臨終之日、弟子光妙に付属す。光妙、房に沽進し了ぬ。　直、百八十貫文。付属文書・沽買文書・直請文等皆之有り。平等房座主和尚[延昌]寺料、今于以て、妙香房[尋禪]に付属し奉れ。　若し、大山に御出之次あら者、住持を造立せ被る可し。件の地は、本、校屋にして、去年、急に総持院塔を作る之間、雑舎の要有るに依て、壊度し立て了ぬ。　但し、念ずる所は、本地、二三尺許に曳垂の後、中心東西、三間、四面庇、一面孫庇、檜皮葺屋二宇、南西北三面廊屋等、之を造立せんと欲す。而て、未だ遂げざるの間、餘命期し難し。宜しく此の旨を察すべき耳。

華山中院妙業房一處。

件の房、先の大師上綱[覚恵]、御入滅の處也。大師入滅の後、已に火災に遭う。地を掃て焼亡す。遺弟多しと雖も、相譲に人無し。　仍て、私に十一間、二面庇の板屋を造立し了ぬ。　寝殿一宇、三間、四面庇、一面孫庇の屋、去年造立し了ぬ。檜皮葺、内作等の料は、武蔵の講師暦璆の任料を用ふ可し。　其の物、去年少々進納の絹布等、計納し了ぬ。（五十餘貫

歟。勘文等、源漸之を知る。）講堂会経営の間、借用し了ぬ。

手作、少々遺る歟。未だ納めざる之物、已に以て多々。法能、勾當、口入する所也。早く催納し、今年の内、作り畢る可し。静安同法、初め従り知る所也。一向之を預仕す可し。作り畢の後、時々通住し、殊に守護を加へ、大師の遺迹を荒涼せ令む可から不。努力、努力。但し、平愉君、已に宿所有り。同じく通住す可し。　諸同法の中、住持の志有る者、又便宜を得令む可し。巽角車宿・七間屋・東方僧房・西方廊屋等、皆造立せんと欲す。　而して、其の料物無し。老僧[良源]他世之後、誰か造作する歟。若し、暦璆の任料の遺餘有ら者、多少に随て、宜しく要須の屋を構立する耳。

苗鹿院一處。

- 檜皮屋一字。（五間、三面庇、東近廊在り。）
- 板葺大炊屋一宇。（四間、二面庇。）

  右、年来源漸の母堂宿住せ被る也。小僧[良源]他世の後、母子共に頼み無き歟。病の間之を思ふに落涙禁じ難し。諸同法、共に相ひ訪を加へ、便宜を得せ令め、彼の老尼非常の後は、源漸領掌せよ。若し、山上に住所の便宜無ければ、壊上造立し之に寄住す可し。
- 政所屋一字。（板葺十一間。二面庇。）

  右、御願所別院為る可し。院司、并に妙香房、共に之を知る可し。
- 木屋一宇。北極に在り。（七間、二面庇。）

  右屋、焼亡の後、行事安眞、力を竭し造立する所也。仍て、安眞之を領掌す可し。若し、院家、要有る可く者、其の料物を計り充て行う耳。
- 校屋二宇。（政所屋の西に立つ可し。）

  其の直物は暹賀に充て了ぬ。早く材木を計納し、造立して院家別納所に充る可き耳。
- 九間二面屋材木一具（鞆結庄、進ずる所なり。）

件の材木、来納了ぬ。山上、彼の院に及ぶの間、要に随て之を造立す可し。又、寝殿の材料、採進す可きの由、鞆結庄に仰せ了ぬ。病身没後、事為さ不欺。三綱并に暹賀、其の旨を知り、相催す耳。　又、七間屋材木、採進す可きの由、岡屋庄に仰せ了ぬ。早く之を検納す可し。　件の両屋の材木、彼の院を構立する為に仰する所也。宜しきに随て左右する耳。

・　小山宅内三間四面庇板屋一宇。（平愉君、知しめす。）

右の屋、造立之志、明豪の母君、頼み無きを問はんが為の由也。去年造り畢の後、已に以て移住せ被る。而して事々忽々、未だ謁問せざる之間、餘命期し難し。他世之後、之を計るに、彌、頼み無き乎。病間、歎を為す耳。諸同法、宜しく之を知るべし。時々寒温を相問すること、尤も之を佳とす。明豪、頗る修学の志有り。若し立身揚名適は者、孝を遂ぐる志有る之。未だ然らざる之間、甚だ以て傷念する耳。

岡屋庄一處。（田地百六十餘丁。載する券文、在り。）

右の庄、本、故九條殿[藤原師輔]の御領なり。薨逝し給ふ之後、御遺言に依りて、法華堂に寄せ被る也。　田地、本の数、百二十餘町、進納の地子年料、二三十斛なり。院領と為りて以来、殊に検察を加へ、田地百六十餘町を勘立し、官符を申し下し、租税・官物の募を免じ、庄司・庄子五十人の雑役を免じ了ぬ。

年料地子、毎年倍増し、去年、百六十餘石を納むる也。是れ老僧之方計也。　後々、庄勢有らば、彌、荒地を開発し、地子之数に随て、倍増し了よ。院司、宜しく之を知るべし。

年料地子、分けて三分と為す。一分は法華堂、常燈料に充つ。（日料、三合。必ず遺餘有らば、以て堂僧衣服の料に充る可し。若し内蔵寮の絹、年々相納者、重ねて之を充る可ら不。他の要須之色を充てる可し。院司、商量する耳。）

一分は修理料に充つ。（法華堂、若し破損無ければ、他の堂塔・雑舎等の

修理料に充る可き耳。）

一分は八講料に充つ。（年来、私に行う所の八講は、自他法界平等利益の為め也。故殿 [藤原師輔]甍じ給ふの後、彼の御菩提を廻向し奉るに、須く御忌日を待ちて、之を行は令む。而に、太政殿下[藤原尹伊]、已に以て修せ被るに、重塁、之を修す可きに非ず。　仍て、須く、病僧入滅の後、其の忌日を以て、若くは初めと為し、若くは終と為し、之を行う可し。一周忌八講は、必ず論議す可し。世人、之を忌む。尤も之を咲う可し。病僧の本業、是れ此の道也。乃至、成仏には此の道を勤む可し。遺弟、之を知り、若し報恩の志有らば、必ず、講説論議を修す可し。他善を行ふ可から不。然れば則ち、八講生ずる所之善を以て、広く一切衆生に廻向し、煩悩を断除し、智慧を発生し、速やかに佛位に到ら令む。次に、故殿下[藤原師輔]を廻向し奉り、早く三界の生死を出て、速やかに一真の妙位を證し、次に、老僧の幽魂を廻向す耳。

又、清原直平、沽進する所の田、二十町、地子今年従り検納し、私房修理料に充る可し。

鞆結庄一處。（所領の田地、六十餘町。）

此の庄、元、角好子先祖の領也。故判事、大懸、武連の口入なり。本、公験を相副へ令め、永く施入し了ぬ。事の由を、故坊城殿[藤原師輔]於申す。殿、御牒を国に遣し、立券し了ぬ。上皇[冷泉]、御宇之日、事の由を奏聞し、官省符を国に賜ふ。　国、奉行し、下符、郡に在り。田地租税、庄司・庄子六十人の雑役を免除し了ぬ。件の庄の地子上分は、法華堂、四季懺法間の燈明料に充る可し。（夜別一燈。）其の遺は、房司進退し、事の由を禪師の君[尋禪]に執申し、本尊常燈・房舎修理料に充る耳。

立[入]庄一所。（田畠の数、券文に載す。野洲郡に在り。）

右の庄、故、當国の掾、秦近生の領也。彼の願に充る為、両部曼荼羅、并

に大般若經常燈料に施入する所也。然れば、則ち件の料に充る可し。之を他用す可から不。

黒田江西庄一所。（田地の数、券文に載す。高島郡に在り。）

右の庄、角武廉・同重名等、先祖の菩提を成さん為に、施入の所也。地子の上分、常燈に加充之遺は、房司進止し、事の由を禪師の君[尋禪]に執申し、房舎修理料等に充る可し。

高屋庄一所。（田地の数、券文に載す。神崎郡に在り。）

右、桑名忠村等、先祖成仏の為に施入する所也。進ずる所の地子支配の法は、黒田江庄に之を准ず可し。

三津厨一所。（出雲の国、島根郡に在り。）

右の嶋、故大弩師、貫邦の施入也。年料所の海藻等、先ず法華堂の僧に充て、次で不断念佛・八講等の僧供料に充る可し。

志積浦一所。（若狭国に在り。所領地の数、券文に在り。買得の直、三十貫文。程妙の口入れ也。）

右の浦、元陽成院の御領なり。故三河権の守、遠名に傳領す。其之後、彼の後家の沽に依りて、買領する所也。今、永く妙香房[尋禪]に付属し奉り了ぬ。

<余白>

一、顕密法文。（年来、大山を往還之間、目録を紛失す。忽に辨勘し難し。早く目録を勘定す可き也。

右、禪師の君[尋禪]に付属し奉り了る。但し本の如く經蔵に安置し、御要用に随て、披覧せ被る可し。　若し遺弟法師等、借り申す有らば、慥に借

書を立て、借充て被るの後、彼の要用畢らば、即ち本蔵に安置せ令む可し。紛失せ令む可から不。　凡そ師迹と言ふは、只是れ法門也。努力、努力、紛散せ令む勿れ。

但し本覚房の文書、年来散失し、其の遺り有る無し。適、有る所者、是れ山城読師、千雲の進ずる所也。目録別に在り。　件の法文は彼の房に安置す。暹賀・聖救両阿闍梨、之を領知す可し。慥に以て検知し、紛散せ令む可から不。其の旨前に同じ。又、妙業房の法文は、先師上綱[覚恵]御四十九日の後、検封す。以来、事々怱々にして、未だ披閲せず。静安同法、慥に検知を加へ、千美・平愉両同法、相共に之を知り、之を散失せ令む勿れ。

一、道具。

・　鈴、一口。剣、一柄。五鈷、一枚。（伴大夫宅に在り。）

・　鐃、一面。鉀、一枚。花瓶、五口。

已上、蒔絵筥、一面に納む。（古躰、之、破損す。）

右、故大師上綱[覚恵]入滅の後、同法達、預る所也。妙業房、造り畢の後、彼の佛壇に安置す可し。静安同法、之を領知す可し。

・　鈴、八口。

・　三鈷鈴、一口。独鈷鈴、一口。寳鈴、一口。（並に新。有茂、之を沽進す。）

右、三口は、妙香房[尋禪]に奉る可し。

・　五鈷鈴、一口。（古唐。）卒塔婆鈴、一口。（古躰。）

右、二口、年来、佛壇に在り。本の如く之を安置す可し。

・　五鈷鈴、一口。（身に随て、年久し。）

右、<空白>

・　卒塔婆鈴、一口。（新。有茂、之を沽進す。内に、佛舎利一粒を安置す。）

右、<空白>

・ 卒塔婆鈴、一口。（古。故如照大徳の弟子の沽也。昌應の口入なり。中に、佛舍利を安置す。）

右、<空白>

・ 五鈷四枚。

一枚、年来、身に隨ふ。太政大臣[藤原伊尹]に奉る可し。

一枚、禪師の君[尋禪]に賜ふ。

一枚、先年、身に隨ふ。今、明證宅に在り。便ち明證に賜ひ了ぬ。

一枚、伴太夫宅に在り。彼の宅、年来、恩有り。之を返取す可から不。

・ 独鈷、二枚。

一枚、女三宮[保子内親王]に在り。便ち彼の宮に奉ず可し。之を申取す可から不。

一枚、身に隨ふ。今、授く。

・ 鈴、二柄。

一柄、入道女御殿に在り。之を申取す可から不。

一柄、右中辨宅に在り。（静安同法の口入れ也。即ち請返し之を領す可し。元、故清[清原]の男の物なり。）

・ 念珠。

菩提子、二連。（一連、付法。　一連、禪師の君[尋禪]に賜ふ。香炉筥に在り。）

金剛子、一連。（付法。）

水精。

緑珠、一連。

蓮子。

木患子。

白檀。

紫檀。

・　香炉、四具。

鍮石、一具。

銀、一具。

白銅、一具。

新銅、一具。

・　如意、一柄。

・　衲袈裟、二具。

・　三衣、二具。

<余白>

一、葬送の事。

墓地、自ら點ず可し。（若し未だ點ぜざる前に、命終わら者、北方の勝地を取る可し。）

棺は、存生に作る可し。（若し、未だ作らざる前に、命終ら者、終日早く作り、夜の内に入る可し。吉日時を撰ぶ可から不る也。）

命終し三日之内、必ず之を葬る可し。延引す可から不。遺弟等、素服・緇帯を著す可から不。努力、努力、教に背く可から不。墓所の高屋・板垣等、例の作法の如し。

入棺所。役す可き人々。

静安、慶有、伊谷、良運、良陳、安真、源漸、妙雲、昌應。

焼所。

行事。静空。覚禪君。（此の君、樒泰し。而して相約せ被る有り。仍て定むる所也。）道朝、良運、陳常、安真、源漸。

雑役。道保、宿久。

拾骨所。

入棺・焼所の人々の中、之を勤む可し。

石卒都婆は、生前に作り運ばんと欲す。若し未だ運ばざる之前に命終らば、且は、假の卒都婆を立て、其の下に穴の深さ三四尺許を堀り、骨を穴の底に置き、上に土を満たす可し。
四十九日の内に、石の卒都婆を作り、之を立て替ふ可し。是れ遺弟等、時々来禮之標示の為也。
卒[都]婆の中に隨求・大佛頂・尊勝・光明・五字・阿彌陀等の眞言を安置す。生前に書き儲んと欲す。若し未だ書かざるに入滅せ者、良昭・道朝・慶有等の同法、之を書く可し。

留守人。

仁樹、慶有、昌應、康公、平覚。

四十九日の間、念佛追福する事。

法華堂、十二僧。（御堂に於て、三時、懺法を修す可し。）
常行堂、十四僧。（御堂に於て、三時、念佛を修す可し。）
念誦堂。
讀経僧、十人。（朝・夕、二坐、法華経を轉ず。初・後夜、尊勝眞言を念ず。）
念佛僧、十人。（三時、念佛を修す可し。）

一七日、誦經料。（尋常著用の装束、一具。）

念誦堂に行ふ可し。

三七日、誦經。

常行堂に行ふ可し。

五七日、誦經。

法華堂に行ふ可し。

七七日、誦經。

已上、五月三日従り十六日に至るまで、病間に記す所、若し改むる可き事有ら者、追て之を定む可き也。

<巻末、裏書>

入滅の日、印、二面（一、御願。一、私印。）は、妙香房[尋禪]に奉る可し。一面（楞厳院。）は、院司、領掌し、前唐院の定に随ふ可し。

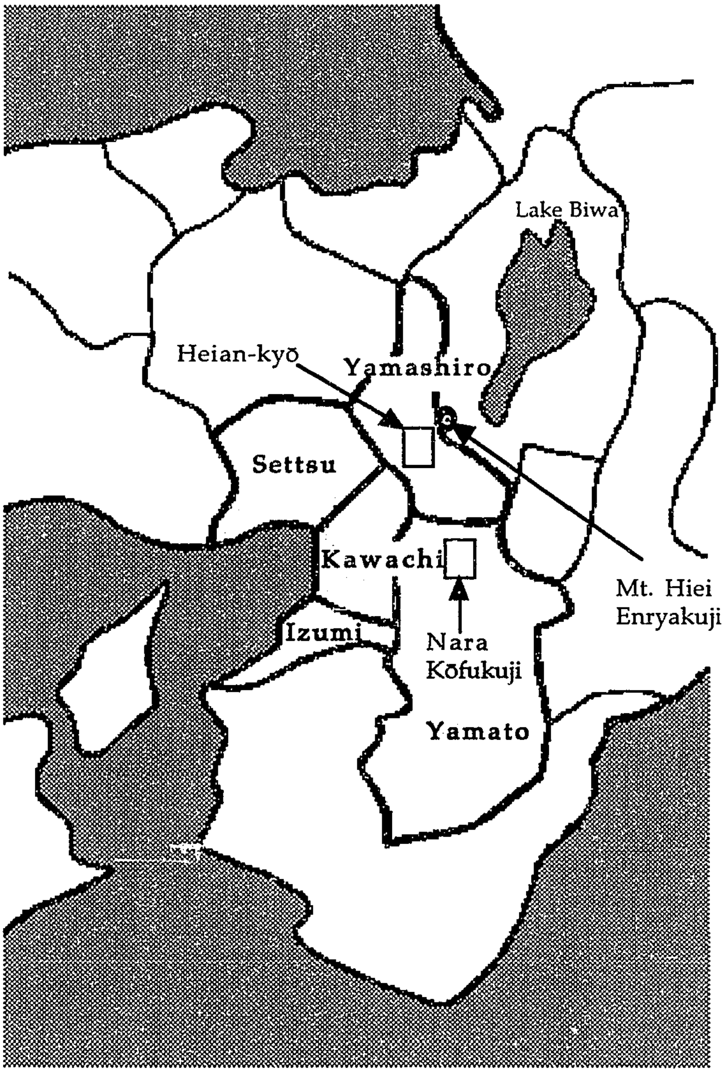
四十九日、満れば、妙香房[尋禪]を以て、御願院検校の解文を申請し、早速、之を言上す可し。

<最末紙、裏、継ぎ目>

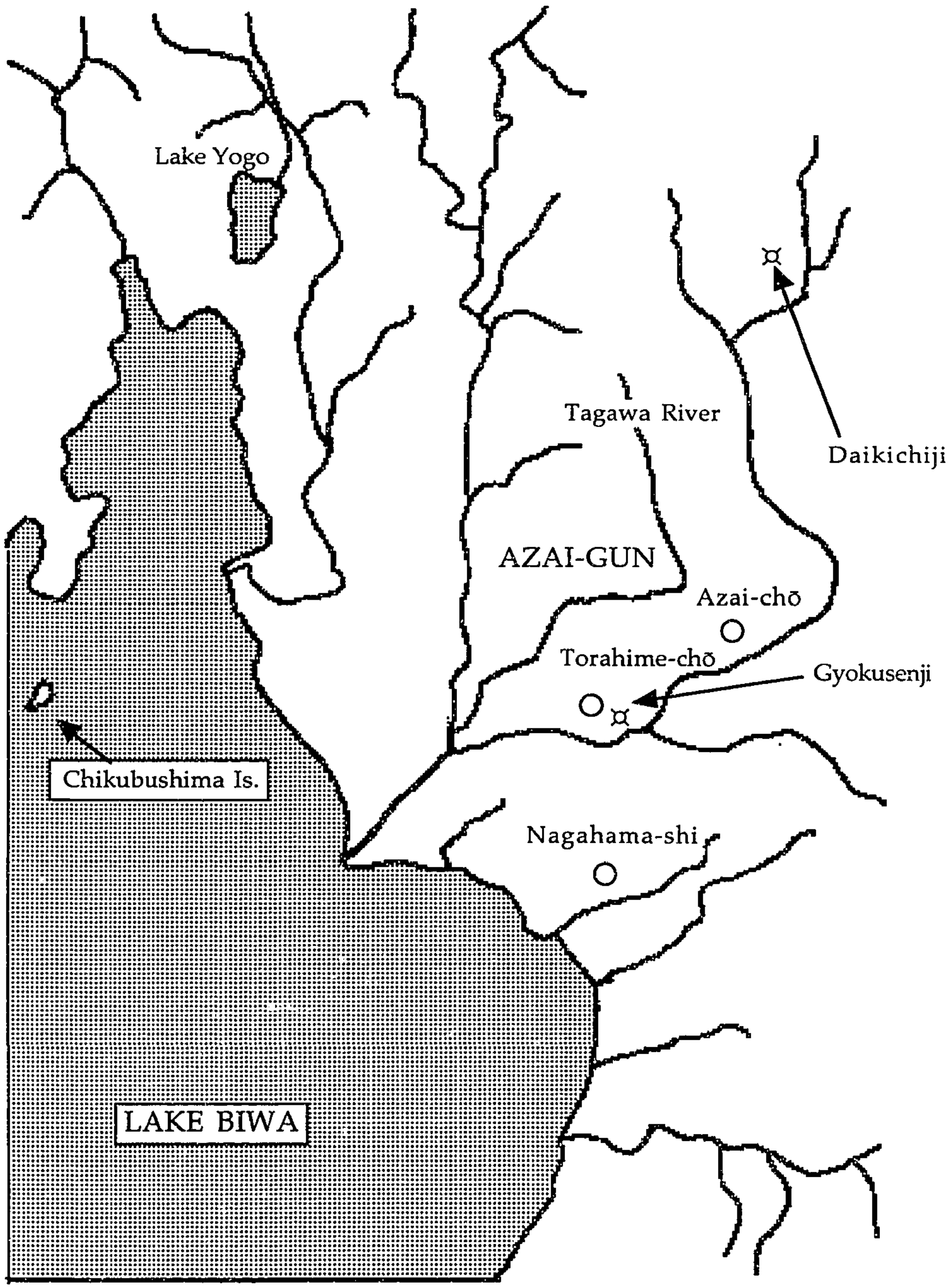
十九枚　（花押）

APPENDIX B. MAPS, CHARTS AND FIGURES

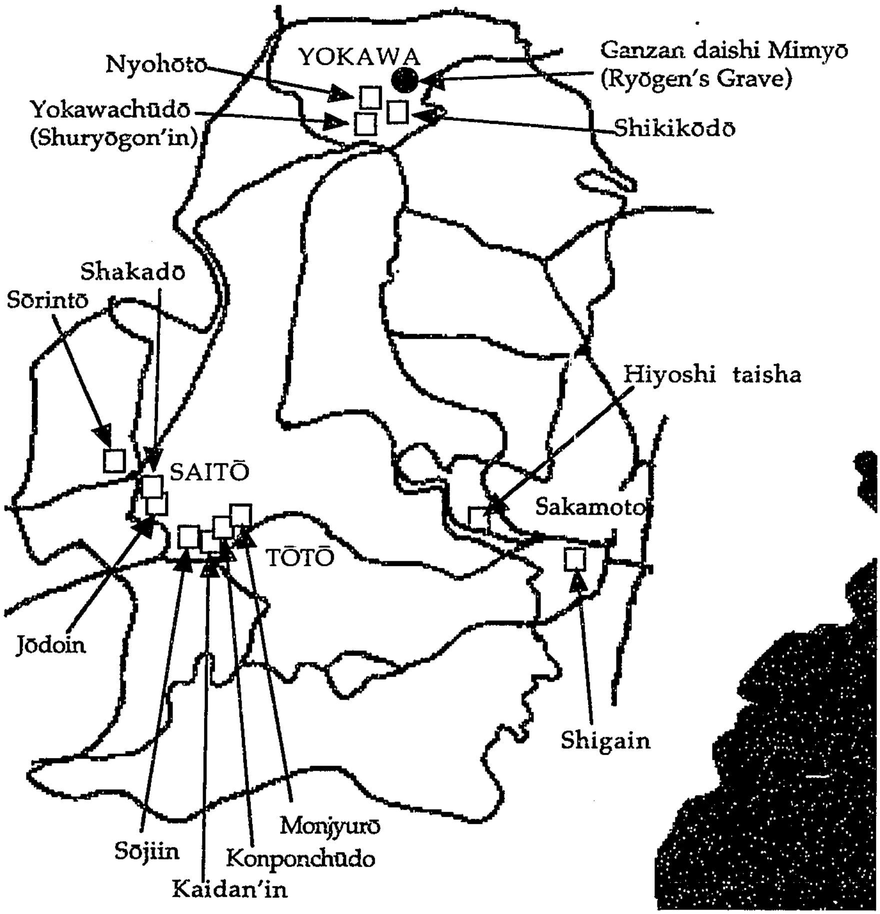
Map A. Kinai


Lake Biwa
Heian-kyō
Yamashiro
Settsu
Kawachi
Izumi
Nara
Kōfukuji
Yamato
Mt. Hiei
Enryakuji

Map B. Northern Ōmi Province



C. Mount H[illegible]i



YOKAWA
Nyohōtō
Yokawachūdō
(Shuryōgon'in)
Ganzan daishi Mimyō
(Ryōgen's Grave)
Shikikōdō
Shakadō
Sōrintō
SAITŌ
Hiyoshi taisha
Sakamoto
TŌTŌ
Jōdoin
Shigain
Monjyurō
Sōjiin
Konponchūdo
Kaidan'in

Map D. Manors Owned by Jinzen and Ryōgen

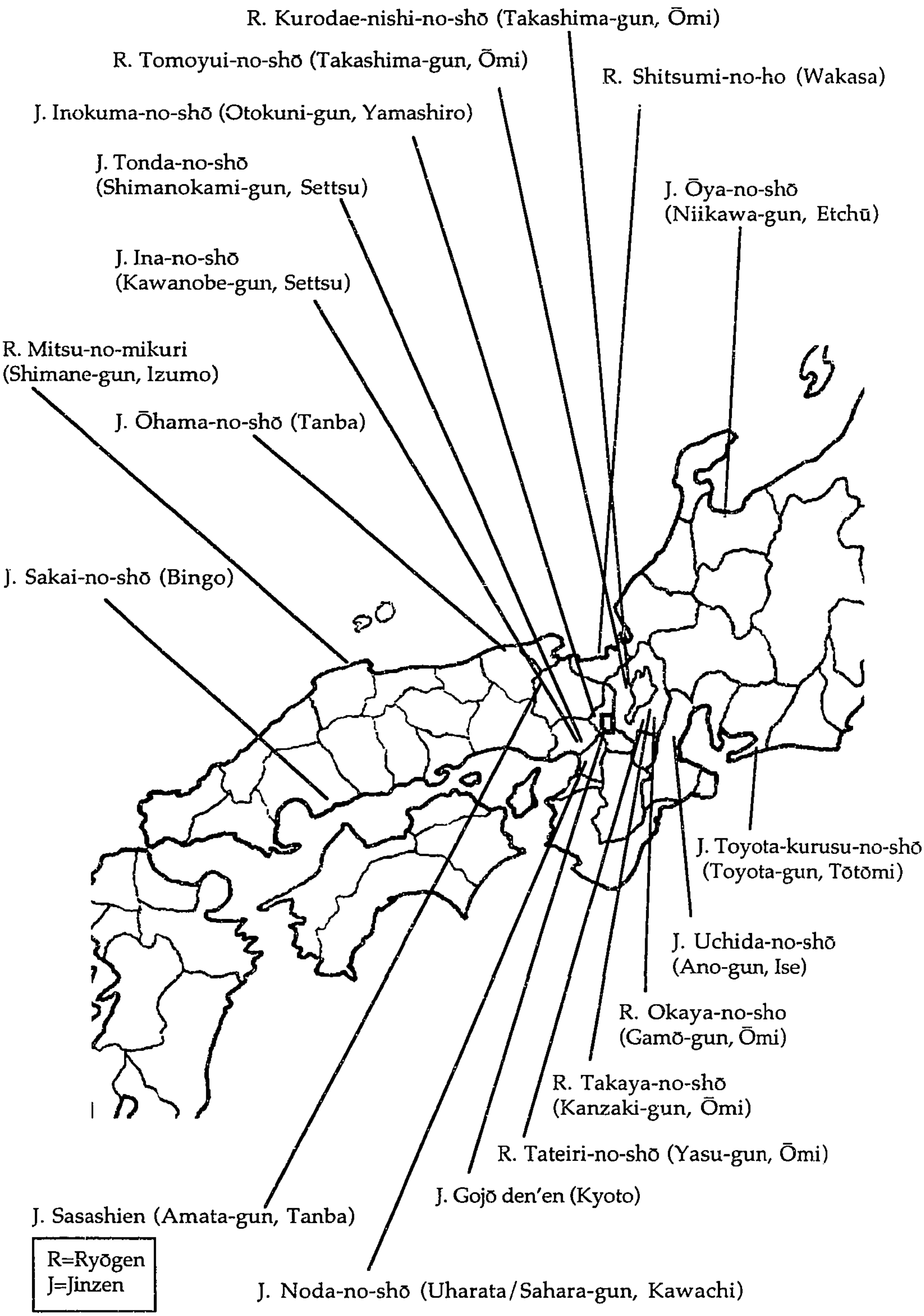


Chart A. *Sōgō* System and the Tendai School

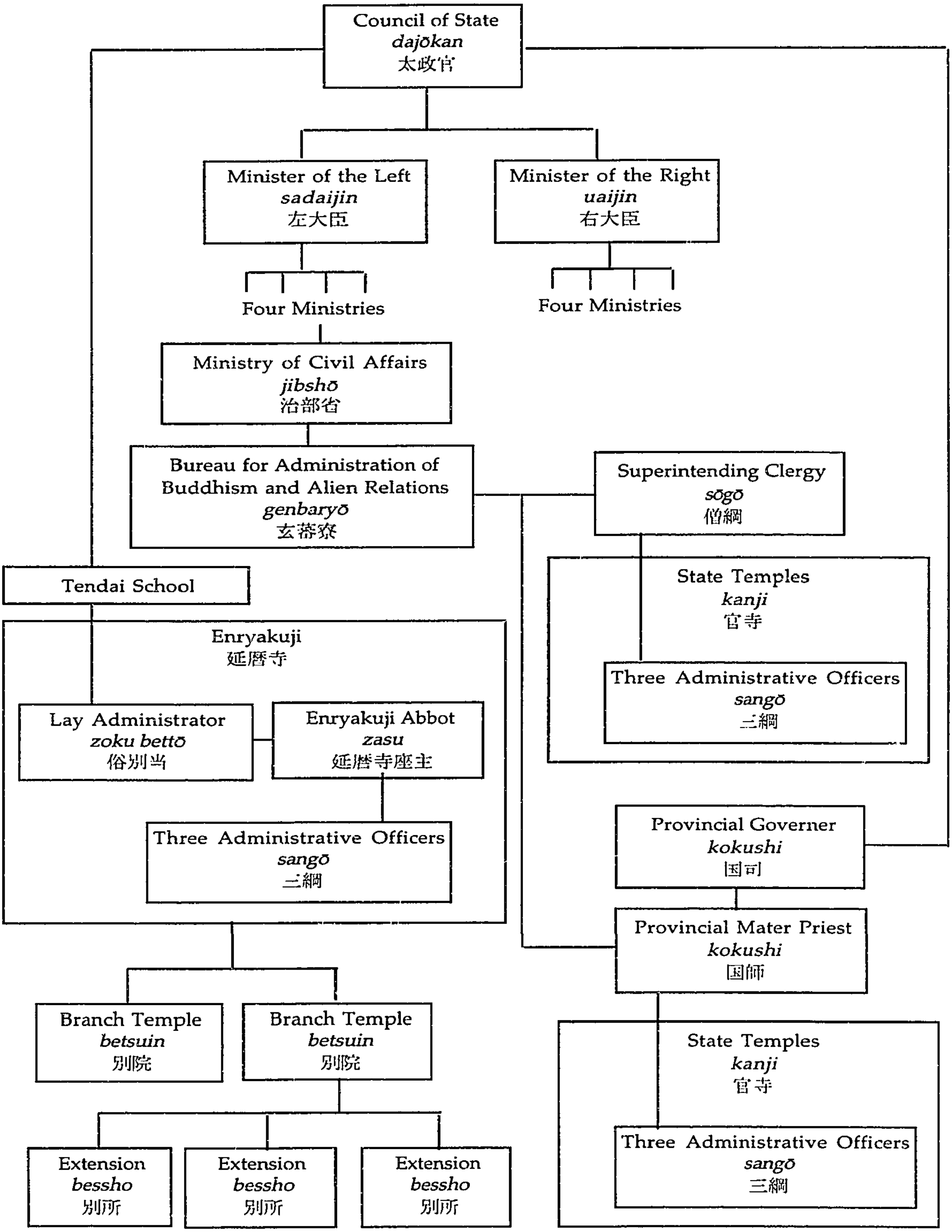


Chart B. Manors Inherited by Jinzen

Name	Province	County	Present Location
Gojō den'en 五条田園	Capital	Rakunai•Sakyō 洛内左京	Kyoto-shi Shimogyō-ku 京都市下京区
Inokuma-no-shō 猪隈荘	Yamashiro 山城	Otokuni-gun 乙訓郡	Kyōto-fu Mukō-shi 京都府向日市
Ina-no-shō 為奈荘	Settsu 摂津	Kawanohe-gun 河辺郡	Hyōgo-ken Kawabe-gun Inagawa-chō 兵庫県川辺郡猪名川町
Tonda-no-shō 富田荘	Settsu 摂津	Shimanokami-gun 島上郡	Ōsaka-fu Takatsuki-shi 大阪府高槻市
Noda-no-shō 野田荘	Kawachi 河内	Uharata-gun •Sahara-gun 茨田・讃良郡	Ōsaka-fu Sen'nan-gun Kumatori-chō 大阪府泉南郡熊取町
Uchida-no-shō 内田荘	Ise 伊勢	Ano-gun 安濃郡	Mie-ken Anki-gun 三重県安芸郡
Toyota kurusu-no-shō 豊田栗栖荘	Tōtōmi 遠江	Toyota-gun 豊田郡	Shizuoka-ken Iwata-gun 静岡県磐田郡
Ōya-no-shō 大家荘	Etchū 越中	Niikawa-gun 新河郡	Toyama-ken Shimoniikawa-gun 富山県下新川郡
Sasashien 佐々支園	Tanba 丹波	Amata-gun 天田郡	Kyōto-fu Fukuchiyama-shi 京都府福知山市
Ōhama-no-shō 大浜荘	Tanba 丹波	---	Hyōgo-ken Toyooka-shi 兵庫県豊岡市
Sakai-no-shō 堺荘	Bingo 備後	---	Hiroshima-ken Mitsuki-gun 広島県御調郡

*Present locations are based on the comparison chart by Hori Daiji, "Ryōgen," 234.

Chart C. Roster of the Ōwa Debate

Six Nara Schools

	Name	Affiliation (Temple)	Title /Other	Age	Attendance
1	Kanri (894-974)	Sanron (Tōdaiji)	Superin-tendent	69	yes
2	Genkei (891-966)	Kegon (Tōdaiji)	Superin-tendent	72	yes
3	Anshū (893-971)	Hossō (Kōfukuji)	Certified Lecturer	70	yes
4	Hōzō (904-968)	Hossō (Tōdaiji)	Certified Lecturer	59	yes
5	Ninga (——)	Hossō (——)		?	declined
Substitute of Ninga	Zōso (903-979)	Hossō (Yakushiji)		60	declined
Substitute of Zōso	Engei (909-970)	Sanron Tōdaiji		54	yes
6	Tanshō (908-983)	Hossō Tōdaiji		55	yes
7	Heishū (——)	Hossō (——)		?	yes
8	Senri (——)	Hossō (——)		?	declined
Substitute of Senri	Sentō (918-989)	Hossō (Kōfukuji)		45	absent
9	Shinki (929-999)	Hossō (Kōfukuji)		33	yes
10	Chūsan (927-969)	Hossō (Kōfukuji)		36	yes

Tendai School

	Name	Affiliation (Temple)	Title /Other	Age	Attendance
1	Zenyu (910-994)	Tendai (Enryakuji)	Ennin's lineage (Ryōgen's disciple)	53	yes
2	Ryōgen (912-985)	Tendai (Enryakuji)	Ennin's lineage	52	yes
3	Chikō (---)	Tendai (---)	Enchin's lineage	?	yes
4	Jujō (---)	Tendai		?	yes
5	Shōku (908-999)	Tendai (Enryakuji)	Ennin's lineage (Ryōgen's disciple)	55	yes
6	Senkan (918-983)	Tendai (---)	Enchin's lineage	44	declined
Substitute of Senkan	Sūju (---)	Tendai (Enryakuji)		?	absent
7	Zōga (917-1003)	Tendai (---)	Ennin's lineage (Ryōgen's disciple)	47	declined
Substitute of Zōga	Kakukei (927-1014)	Tendai (Enryakuji)	Ennin's lineage (Ryōgen's disciple)	37	yes
8	Yokei (918-991)	Tendai (---)	Enchin's lineage	45	yes
9	Nōe (---)	Tendai (---)		?	yes
10	Gashū (---)	Tendai (---)	Ennin's lineage	?	yes

Chart D. Program of the Ōwa Debate

Date	Session (Theme)	Leader (affiliation)	Respondent (affiliation)	Notes
8/21	Opening (*Muryōgikyō*)	Kanri (Sanron)	Yokei (Tendai)	
	Evening (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 1)	Genkei (Kegon)	Nōe (Tendai)	
8/22	Morning (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 2)	Anshū (Hossō)	Gashū (Tendai)	
	Evening (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 3)	Hōzō (Hossō)	Kakukei (Tendai) and Ryōgen (Tendai)	Kakukei is relieved by Ryōgen. Ryōgen refutes Hōzō.
8/23	Morning (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 4)	Ryōgen (Tendai)	Heishū (Hossō) and Hōzō (Hossō)	Hōzō is allowed to respond in place of Heishū. Hōzō's counter argument against Ryōgen is not successful.
	Evening (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 5)	Zenyu (Tendai)	Chūsan (?)	A scheduled respondent, Sentō, is absent.
8/24	Morning (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 6)	Chikō (Tendai)	Shinki (Hossō)	Shinki honored by the emperor.
	Evening (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 7)	Tanshō (Hossō)	not-known (Tendai)	Sūju is absent. Name of substitute priest is not known.
8/25	Morning (*Lotus Sūtra* vol. 8)	Jujō (Tendai)	Chūsan (Hossō)	Chūsan honored by the emperor.

	Evening (*Kanfugengyō*)	Seikyū (Tendai)	Chūsan (Hossō)	A scheduled respondent Engei was replaced by Chūsan at the request of the emperor. Chūsan made counter argument against Ryōgen. Ryōgen, however, remains silent throught. The emperor praises Chūsan with a silver a grail and praised.
8/26	closing	Kanri (Sanron)		

Chart E. Sources of the *Invocations of Tendai Abbot Ryōgen*

	Title	Regulation	Sources
1	The chief administrator supervising the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics is prohibited from providing gifts of clothing at the service and from holding a reception for the administrating officers [of the temple] before and after the service.	Communal service	*Kanseishijō*, 2 (Anne)
2	The lecturer of the Assembly in the Sixth Month is prohibited from holding a reception for the audience and the administrating officers [of the service].	Lecture meeting	Original
3	The respondent of the doctrinal debate at the Assembly [in the Sixth Month] is prohibited from preparing food bowls, serving tea, and making offerings to the priests in charge of the protocol of ceremony.	Lecture meeting	Original
4	The lecturer of the Assembly in the Eleventh Month is forbidden to prepare food, serve tea an make offerings to the priests in charge of the protocol of ceremony.	Lecture meeting	Original
5	The lecturer of the Retreat during the rainy season is prohibited from holding a reception for the administrating officers [of the service].	Lecture meeting	Original
6	Priests are prohibited from wearing wooden clogs in temple buildings.	Community rule	Original
7	A priest who buys ritual articles at an auction and does not meet the date of payment will be expelled from the *saṃgha*.	Community rule	Orders issued in Jōgan, Kampyō, Shōtai, Enchō, and Tengyō eras
8	A priest who does not attend *upavasata* will be expelled from *saṃgha* for three years.	Communal service	Original

9	A priest, after accepting the precepts on the ordination platform, must attend the assembly hall for *upavasata* and continuously practice to recite the precepts, chant the hymns, and officiate at the service.	Communal service	Original
10	A priest must practice the methods of chanting *sūtras* and singing gathas properly at services.	Communal service	Original
11	A priest should attend the services observing the transmission of the Dharma, or other *sūtra* lectures without fail.	Lecture meeting	Original
12	[Administrators] must carefully select a person capable of receiving the Dharma as candidate for the yearly ordinand.	Community rule	*Hachijōshiki,* 1, 3 (Saichō) *Kanseishijō,* 1, 2 (Anne)
13	A priest who is under the [twelve years of] confined practice on Mount [Hiei] is not allowed beyond the confines of the mountain. <The eastern limit is Hiden, the southern limit is Hannya-ji, the western limit is Mizunomi, and the northern limit is Ryōgon-in. [The confined practitioner] is not allowed to cross these borders.>	Community rule	*Hachijōshiki,* 4 (Saichō)
14	A junior priest is forbidden to dress in prohibited colors.	Community rule	*Hachijōshiki,* 5 (Saichō) *Nijūnijō,* 1, 2, 8 (Ninchū) *Kanseishijō,* 4 (Anne)
15	A priest who neglects his duty to attend the *sūtra* chanting services, be it either a private or public service, is permanently excluded from all official services.	Communal service	Original
16	[Donors] are prohibited from delivering food baskets as offerings to the priests on the mountain.	Community rule	*Yuigon* (Saichō), order issued in Tenroku era

17	Cattle and Horses grazing within the confines of the monastery on Mount [Hiei] should be captured and entrusted to the left and right divisions of the Bureau of Horses.	Misconduct of priest	*Kanseishijō*, 3 (Anne)
18	A priest who covers his head [and face] and disturbs the Dharma will not be admitted [on Mount Hiei].	Misconduct of priest	Original
19	[A priest] who arms himself and goes in and out of the residence quarters of priests, or roams the mountainside must be arrested and surrendered to the authorities.	Misconduct of priest	Original
20	Within the confines of the monastery on Mount [Hiei], a priest is prohibited from inflicting punishments arbitrarily [upon anyone].	Misconduct of priest	*Yuigon* (Saic hō)*Nijūnijō*, 4 (Ninchū)
21	During the ceremony confirming the precepts, priests are prohibited from disturbing and interrupting the ceremony.	Misconduct of priest	Original
22	[Each residence hall on Mount Hiei] is required to file a head priest's register [of residents to the administration office of Enryakuji] semi-annually, once in the spring and once in the fall.	Community rule	*Nijūnijō*, 10 (Ninchū)
23	The registration of a current resident priest is to be certified by his attendance at the semi-annual *sūtra* chanting services for Sannō.	Communal service	Original
24	On the day of the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics, the officiants and their attendants are prohibited from visiting the residence of the chief administrator [supervising the assembly].	Communal service	*Kanseishijō*, 2 (Anne)
25	The senior and junior officiants [of the official services on Mount Hiei] are prohibited from visiting the residence of the abbot [of Enryakuji] to offer their congratulations [for the successful completion of the service] at each occasion.	Communal service	*Kanseishijō*, 1, 2 (Anne)

26	The senior and junior officiants [of the official services on Mount Hiei] should both observe the rules of etiquette [at the services].	Community rule	*Shuryōgon'in-shiki*, 4, 5 (Ennin)

Chart F. Fujiwara Morosuke's Family

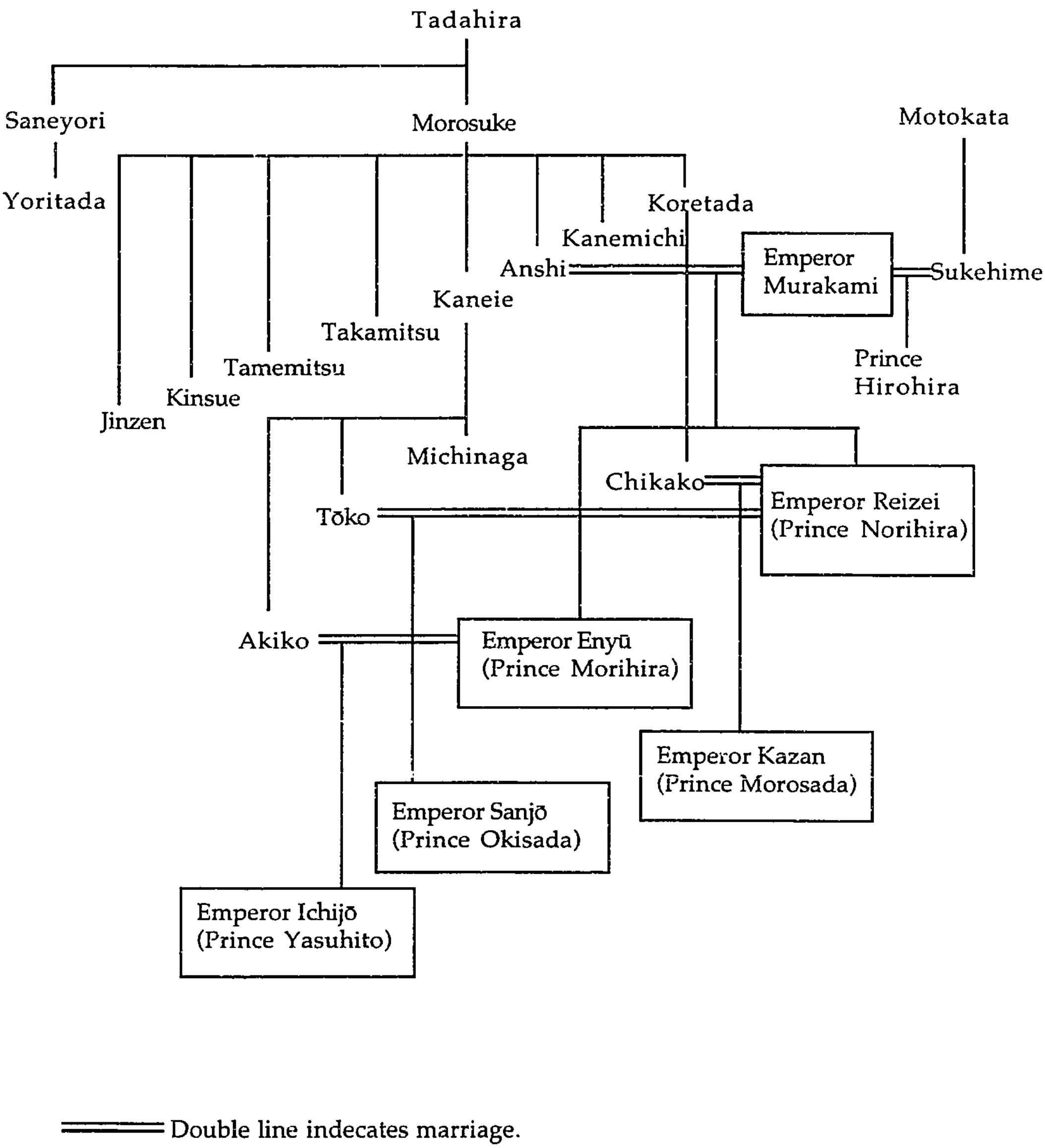
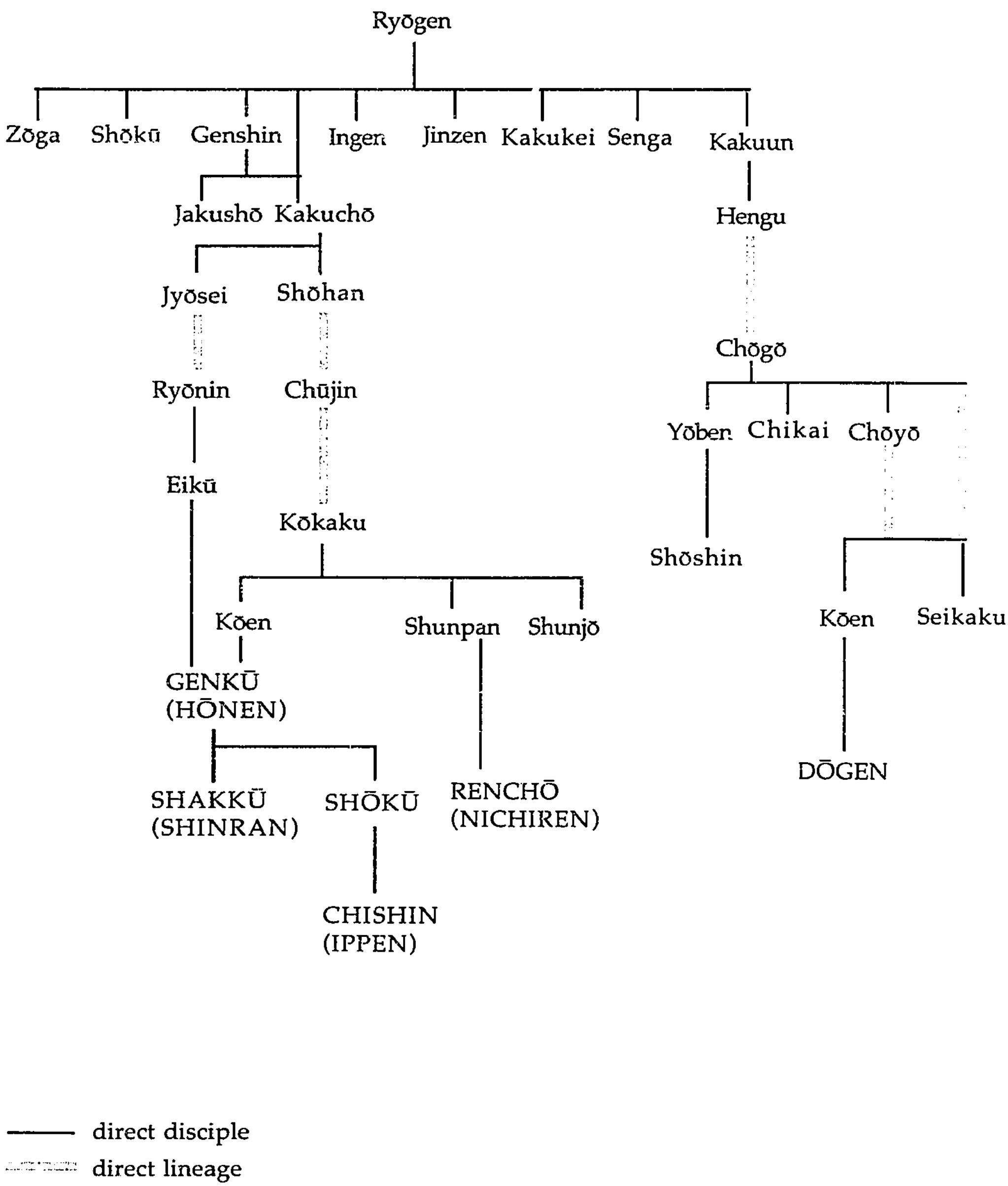


Chart G. Ryōgen's Lineage



Names in all captials indicate leaders of new Buddhist movements during the Kamakura period.

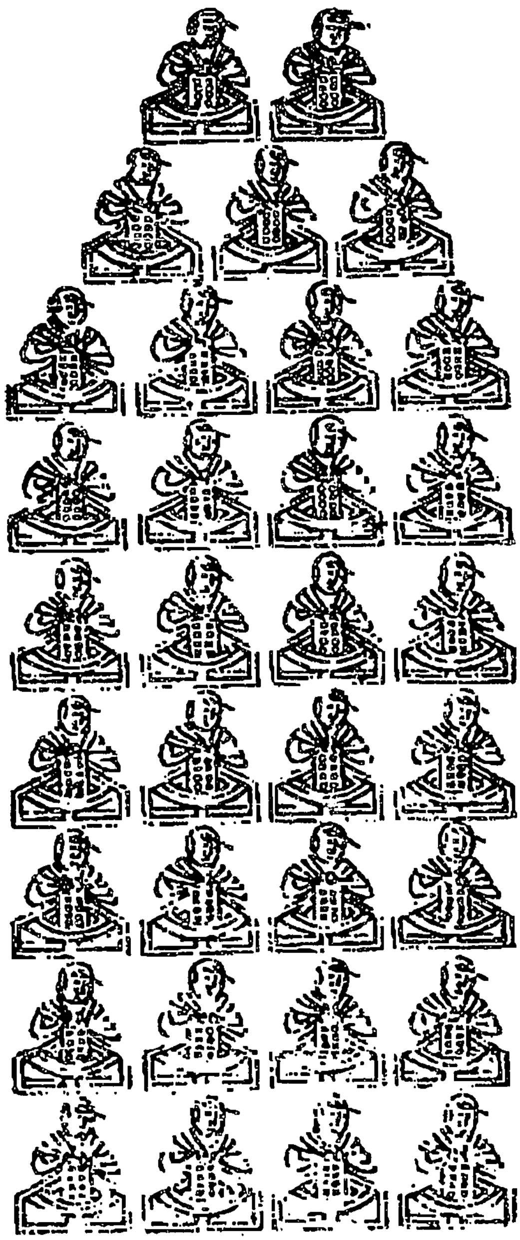
Figure A.



Tsuno daishi

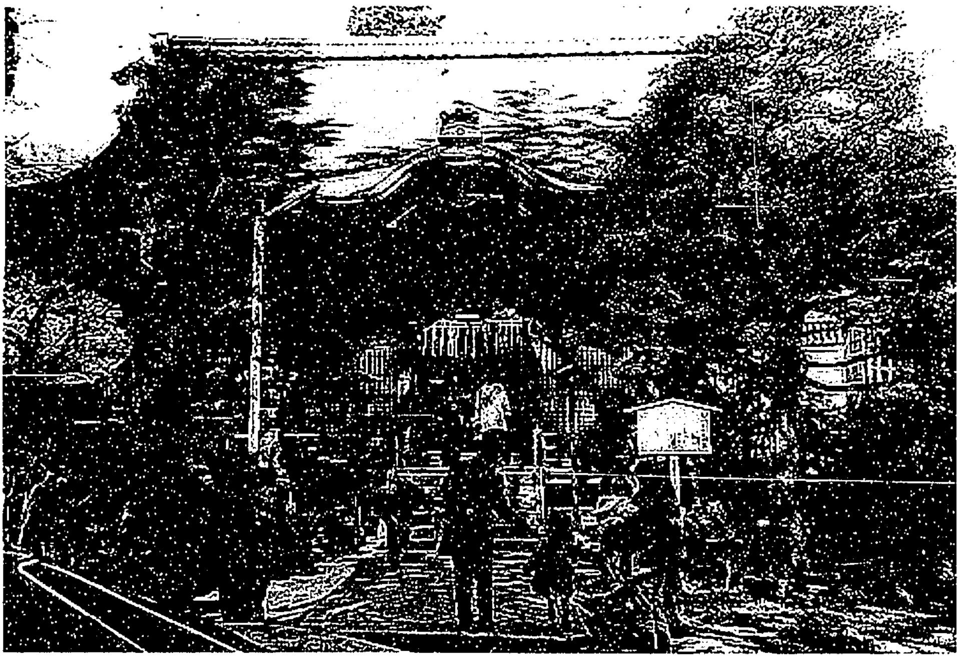
Original woodblock print from Guhōji (Hashiriidō)
Sakamoto, Ōtsu-shi, Shiga-ken

Figure B.



Mame daishi
Original woodblock print from Guhōji (Hashiriidō)
Sakamoto, Ōtsu-shi, Shiga-ken

Figure C.



Guhōji (Hashiriidō)
Original photograph by author
Sakamoto, Ōtsu-shi, Shiga-ken

APPENDIX C. CHRONOLOGY OF RYŌGEN

Chronology of the Life of Jiedaishi Ryōgen (912-985)

912 (Engi 12) age 1

9·3: Ryōgen is born at Okamoto-gō or Ōi-gō in Asai-gun of Ōmi province, the northwestern part of present day Shiga prefecture, and named Kannon-maru. His father's family was of the Kozu clan; his mother's family, the Mononobe clan.

920 (Engi 20) age 9

- Kumo Sadayuki, a retired government officer, discovers auspicious signs on Kannon-maru. He recommends that his parents to have their son educated on Mount Hiei.

923 (Enchō 1) age 12

4·11: The era changes from Engi to Enchō.

5·3: On the recommendation of Kakue, a Tendai priest at Bonshakuji in Ōmi province, Kannon-maru is admitted to study on Mount Hiei as a novice at the resident quarter of the monk Nittō under the supervision of the monk Risen.

928 (Enchō 6) age 17

- Kannon-maru's master priest, Risen, dies before he receives the

precept confirmation ceremony (*jukai*). Funaki Yoshimi, a patron of Nittō, helps Kannon-maru by arranging for him to attend the ceremony as a disciple of the monk Onkun at Yakushiji. Kannon-maru receives his ordained name Ryōgen. He returns to Mount Hiei shortly thereafter.

4: Ryōgen receives the precepts from the abbot Son'i at the ordination platform of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei.

929 (Enchō 7) age 18

- Ryōgen defeats the monk Jōe at a doctrinal debate on Mount Hiei. Jōe becomes Ryōgen's disciple.

931 (Jōhei 1) age 20

4·26: The era changes from Enchō to Jōhei.

- Two monks, Senga and Shōgu, become Ryōgen's disciples.

937 (Jōhei 7) age 26

10·10: Ryōgen is invited to the annual Yuimae held at Kōfukuji as an attendant to Kizō of Enryakuji.

- Ryōgen attends a doctrinal debate held privately at the lodging of the representative of the emperor for Yuimae, Fujiwara Arihira. Ryōgen defeats a Hossō scholar Gishō of Gangōji in debate.

938 (Tengyō 1) age 27

5·22: The era changes from Jōhei to Tengyō.

- During the era of Tengyō (938-947), Ryōgen studies the esoteric practices of the Japanese Tendai school under a monk Kakue. He masters both the three great esoteric rituals (*sanbu-daihō*) and the esoteric ritual of offering fire to various deities (*shoson yuga*

goma hihō).

- During this year, Ryōgen often visits Fujiwara Tadahira, the Regent of the emperor, as an attendant of Kakue. Tadahira recognizes Ryōgen's outstanding talent and becomes his patron.

945 (Tengyō 8) age 34

- Ryōgen celebrates mother's sixtieth birthday at Sufukuji. Ryōgen makes copies of six volumes of Mahāyāna sūtras and officiates a doctrinal debate lasting for three days.

948 (Tenryaku 2) age 37

- Ryōgen attends the opening ceremony of the Dainichiin at Saitō as an officer of the ceremony (*dōtatsu*). Ryōgen is ranked as a Great Dharma-master (*daihossi*), which is the highest rank for the ordinary priest (*bonsō*).

949 (Tenryaku 3) age 38

8·14: Fujiwara Tadahira dies (age 70).

- Ryōgen retires to the Yokawa to pray for Tadahira after receiving a dream message that he should be discreet in his conduct. He begins performing the three hundred–day fire ritual service for Tadahira at Yokawa.
- Fujiwara Morosuke, a son of Tadahira, requests Ryōgen to perform esoteric rituals for his daughter, Anshi, who is a wife of Emperor Murakami, so that she might give birth to a son who would become the crown prince.

950 (Tenryaku 4) age 39

5·24: Morosuke's daughter Anshi gives birth to Prince Norihira

(Emperor Reizei). Ryōgen performs esoteric rituals for the prince at Yokawa.

7・23: Norihira becomes Crown Prince. Ryōgen is appointed guardian priest of Crown Prince (*tōgū gojisō*).

951 (Tenryaku 5) age 40

- Ryōgen succeeds an *ajari* position at Gengyōji from Kakue, his master of esoteric practices.

954 (Tenryaku 8) age 43

10: Ryōgen officiates at the opening ceremony of the Hokkezanmaidō at Yokawa. This hall is donated by Fujiwara Morosuke in repose of his father's Fujiwara Tadahira. Fujiwara Morosuke attends the service and pledges further financial support to Yokawa.

11: Nominated as a lecturer for *shinpitsu hokke mihakkō* (the lectures on the *Lotus Sūtra* copied by his highness himself) at Kokiden in the imperial palace.

12・5: Officiates at the *hokke hakkō* to prepare for the *shinpitsu hokke mihakkō*. Gishō of Gangōji, who is another lecturer, and Fujiwara Morosuke attend the service.

955 (Tenryaku 9) age 44

1・4: Emperor Murakami holds the *shinpitsu hokke mihakkō* at Kokiden in the imperial palace. Ryōgen attends the service as a representative of the Tendai school.

- Ryōgen celebrates his mother's seventieth birthday. Ryōgen builds a new residence for his mother in Nōka, at the foot of the

Mount Hiei.

6・4: Ryōgen officiates at a sūtra lecture meeting on the *Lotus Sūtra* at the Yokawa. Fujiwara Morosuke financially supports this week-long lecture meeting. Ryōgen impresses attendants of the lecture with his excellent interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra.* During the lecture meeting, Morosuke reveals to Ryōgen his wish for joining Yokawa upon his retirement.

957 (Tentoku 1) age 46

5・11: Ryōgen is invited to Morosuke's residence Bojōdai to perform a prayer service for easy delivery of Morosuke's wife Kōshi.

6・6: Kōshi dies by post-partum infection after the birth of Kinsue.

10・27: The era changes from Tenryaku to Tentoku.

• (?) Ryōgen compiles the *Kubon ōjōgi* (Notes on the nine grades of birth in Amida's Pure Land) at the request of Fujiwara Morosuke.

958 (Tentoku 2) age 47

8: Morosuke's tenth son, Jinzen, becomes a Tendai priest at the age of sixteen. Jinzen receives the precepts from the abbot Enshō and joins the Yokawa as a disciple of Ryōgen.

960 (Tentoku 4) age 49

5・4: Fujiwara Morosuke dies (age 53).

961 (Ōwa 1) age 50

2・16: The era changes from Tentoku to Ōwa.

3・17: Ryōgen declines the emperor's invitation to attend a service at

the Dainichiin of Saitō and to perform the five-platforms ritual (*godanhō*) to ward off national disasters.

5·4: Ryōgen officiates at the memorial service for Morosuke at Shingondō in Yokawa. Morosuke's daughter Anshi sponsors the service.

6: Ryōgen receives a few manors (*shōen*) from Morosuke's family. The eleven manors in the ten provinces given to Jinzen, Morosuke's son, are also entrusted to Ryōgen.

• Morosuke's family donates Okaya-no-shō, a manor in Ōmi province, to maintain the Hokkedō in Yokawa according to Morosuke's wish.

7·1: Ryōgen performs an esoteric practice (*mishiho*) at the imperial court for the welfare of Crown Prince Norihira. In return, Ryōgen is granted one ordinand as an attendant.

• Takamitsu, Jinzen's older brother, becomes a Tendai priest. Ryōgen refuses his request to join Yokawa.

962 (Ōwa 2) age 51

5·4: Another of Morosuke's sons, Koretada, donates revenues from his estate to support the daily *Lotus Sūtra* Samādhi practice (*hokke zanmai*) at Ryōgon'in in Yokawa.

963 (Ōwa 3) age 52

7: Zōga, a disciple of Ryōgen, leaves Yokawa for Tōnomine in Yamato province, present day Nara prefecture.

8·21: Lecture meetings on the *Lotus Sūtra* (*hokke kōe*) are held at the Seiryōden of the imperial palace, celebrating completion of the

copying of the sūtra by Emperor Murakami. Ryōgen defeats Hossō scholar, Hōzō, at the debate held at the imperial palace. The debate is later called *Ōwa no shūron* (the Ōwa Debate).

8·23: Kūya officiates a service at the Kamo river to celebrate the completion of the copying of the *Daihannya-kyō*.

964 (Kōho 1) age 53

4·29: Anshi dies from post-partum infection after the birth of Princess Senshi.

6·13: Ryōgen is appointed one of the ten guardian priests of (*naigubu jūzenji*) of Emperor Murakami.

7·10: The era changes from Ōwa to Kōho.

10: Ryōgen performs the blazing-light ritual (*shijōkōhō*) to ward off natural disasters at the Jijūden in the imperial palace.

12: Ryōgen performs the ritual dedicated to the most August Buddha's head (*sonshōhō*) for the welfare of the emperor at the Jijūden in the imperial palace.

965 (Kōho 2) age 54

- Ryōgen celebrates mother's eightieth birthday. Ryōgen makes copies of sūtras, holds lecture meetings inviting eighty priests, and plays music for three days. Ryōgen also builds several houses for his mother and a decorated boat which is moored on Lake Biwa.

12·28: Ryōgen is elected member of the office of the superintending clergy (*sōgō*). Ryōgen is granted the title of superintendent of the lower rank (*gonrisshi*).

966 (Kōho 3) age 55

2: Ryōgen performs the ritual dedicated to Acalanātha (*fudōhō*) to ward off natural disasters at the Jijūden in the imperial palace.

7・17: Kikyō, the seventeenth abbot of Enryakuji, dies.

8: Ryōgen performs the ritual dedicated to Acalanātha (*fudōhō*) to ward off natural disasters at the Jijūden in the imperial palace.

8・27: Ryōgen is appointed the eighteenth abbot of Enryakuji.

9・10: Ryōgen presents his ten articles of institutional reform to the imperial court.

9・13: Ryōgen performs the blazing-light ritual (*shijōkōhō*) to ward off natural disasters at the Jijūden in the imperial palace. Ryōgen consults with the emperor about the ten articles of institutional reform submitted on 9・10.

9・26: Ryōgen's mother dies (81 years old).

10・28: A fire destroys the major buildings of Enryakuji on Mount Hiei. Ryōgen quickly begins an extensive reconstruction project.

12・26: Ryōgen is granted the title of superintendent (*risshi*) of the superintending clergy (*sōgō*).

• Two of the ten proposed articles of the institutional reform plan including creating an official doctrinal debate, *kōgaku ryūgi*, at Mount Hiei and three additional *ajari* posts at Sōjiin of Enryakuji) are approved by the imperial court.

967 (Kōho 4) age 56

- Ryōgen starts the seasonal Dharma assembly (*shikikō*) in his private residence hall, Jōshinbō, at Yokawa.

1・29: Priest Gajō dies.

4・8: Reconstruction of the Hokkedō and Jōgyōdō at Tōtō are completed.

8・1: Ryōgen posts his order admonishing disruptive priests on Mount Hiei.

9・26: Priest Bōsan dies.

968 (Anna 1) age 57

1・28: Emperor Reizei (Morosuke's grandson, former Crown Prince Norihira) donates Jōgyōzanmaidō to Yokawa.

2・27: Ryōgen becomes supervisor (*kenkyō*) of Ryōgonzanmai'in at Yokawa.

3・11: Granted the title of minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*).

6・4: Ryōgen officiates at the first *kōgaku ryūgi* (Doctrinal discussion meeting of learned scholars) during the annual lecture meeting on the Lotus Sūtra (*hokke-e*).

8・15: The era changes from Kōho to Anna.

969 (Anna 2) age 58

3: Anna Plot (Anna-no-hen) occurs. Minamoto no Takaaki, Great Minister of the Left (*sadaijin*) and husband of a Morosuke's daughter, charged with conspiring to cause rebellion is exiled to

Dazaifu.

- Monjurō is built in Tōtō.
- Ryōgen attends Shōshikai.

970 (Tenroku 1) age 59

3·25: The era changes from Anna to Tenroku.

4·20: Sōjiin is destroyed by fire again. Other reconstruction projects are temporarily suspended in order to rebuild Sōjiin.

7·16: Ryōgen issues the Invocation of the Tendai Abbot Ryōgen (*Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō*).

8: Tada Mitsunaka builds Tadain in Settsu Kawabe. Mitsunaka invites Ryōgen to officiate at the opening ceremony.

971 (Tenroku 2) age 60

4·15: Ryōgen officiates at the first *upavasata* ceremony (*fusatsu*) at Yokawa.

4·25: Reconstruction of Sōjiin is completed. The opening ceremony is held on the day of the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics (*sharie*).

5·11: Ryōgen is appointed vice president (*gonhōmu*) of the office of superintending clergy.

972 (Tenroku 3) age 61

1·15: Yokawa becomes institutionally independent of Tōtō and Saitō.

4·3: All reconstruction projects on Mount Hiei are completed. Ryōgen officiates at opening services for the Assembly Hall (Kōdō) and four other buildings.

5·3: Ryōgen becomes seriously ill. Ryōgen writes his dying

instructions (*Tendai zasu Ryōgen yuigō*).

11·1: Fujiwara Koretada dies. Ryōgen performs a purification ceremony for the *kami* of Mount Hiei after the funeral of Koretada.

973 (Tenen 1) age 62

3·19: Jinzen becomes a one-life *ajari* (*isshin ajari*) at the Ryōgon'in at Yokawa.

11: Ryōgen predicts the destruction of the ordination hall (Kaidanin) of Enryakuji. Ryōgen temporarily suspends ordination ceremonies to avoid any incidents. The ceiling of the ordination hall collapses the next day as he predicted.

12·20: The era changes from Tenroku to Tenen.

12·22: Ryōgen is granted the title of minor bishop (*shōsōzu*).

974 (Tenen 2) age 63

5·7: Gion Shrine (Kankeiji Kanshin'in) becomes an affiliate of the Tendai school.

12·15: Ryōgen is granted the title of great bishop of the lower rank (*gondaisōzu*).

12·15: Jinzen is granted the title of minor bishop of the lower rank (*gonshōsōzu*).

975 (Tenen 3) age 64

3·28: Regent Fujiwara Kanemichi attends the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics (*sharie*) held at the Main Hall (Chūdō) of Yokawa.

10·5: Ryōgen is granted the title of great bishop (*daisōzu*).

976 (Jōgen 1) age 65

3: Kanemichi holds a memorial service for Morosuke at Yokawa.

7·13: The era changes from Tenen to Jōgen.

9: Jinzen is appointed head priest of Hosshōji.

977 (Jōgen 2) age 66

3·21: Ryōgen officiates at the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics (*sharie*) on Mount Hiei.

4·21: Ryōgen officiates at the Assembly for the Buddha's Relics (*sharie*) at Yoshida-dera of Kaguraoka in Kyoto.

10·5: Ryōgen is granted the title of archbishop of the lower rank (*gonsōjō*) by virtue of curing Kanemichi's illness.

11·8: Kanemichi dies (age 53).

978 (Tengen 1) age 67

8: Senga becomes the head priest of Saitō.

• Ryōgen officiates at a commemorative service dedicated to Benzaiten (Sarasvatī, a goddess of wisdom) on Chikubushima, an island in Lake Biwa.

11·1: Fujiwara Akiteru holds a memorial service for his father Kanemichi at Yokawa.

11·13: The era changes from Jōgen to Tengen.

979 (Tengen 2) age 68

4·1: Ryōgen officiates at the festival for the three guardian deities of Mount Hiei (*jishu sanshō sai*). Ryōgen requests all registered

resident priests on Mount Hiei to attend the service. 700 priests who failed to attend the service have their registrations revoked.

6・28: Residents of Higashi Sakamoto, Mitsuhama, and Nōka villages are granted exemption from state labor duties in order to engage in maintenance services for Enryakuji.

- Ryōgen officiates at a memorial service for his mother at her home town temple Daikichisanji. Ryōgen performs the one hundred–day fire ritual (*goma*) and visits his parents' grave after the session.
- Ryōgen officiates at *hokkedaie* for three days on the beach of Hosoehama.

12・21: Ryōgen is granted the title of archbishop (*sōjō*).

- Jinzen is granted the title of great bishop (*daisōzu*).
- Kaneie donates Eshinin to Yokawa.

980 (Tengen 3) age 69

9・3: Reconstruction and expansion of the Konponchūdō, the Main Assembly Hall of Enryakuji, is completed. Ryōgen officiates at an opening ceremony with his disciples and eminent guests.

- Ryōgen performs *fudan nenbutsu* for three days on the beach of Hosoehama.
- Meifu, a disciple of Ryōgen, becomes seriously ill and almost dies, but is miraculously resuscitated. Upon resucitation, he says that an officer of the nether world told him that his master Ryōgen was an incarnation of a buddha or bodhisattva (*gonke*).

981 (Tengen 4) age 70

8·10: Ryōgen attends the five-platforms ritual (*godanhō*) service held at the imperial palace for Emperor Enyū.

8·16: The emperor allows Ryōgen to ride in a hand-pulled-cart (*teguruma*) in the imperial palace because of Ryōgen's success in curing the emperor's illness.

8·30: Ryōgen is granted the title of great archbishop (*daisōjō*), the highest rank of the office of superintending clergy.

8·30: Jinzen is granted the title of archbishop of the lower rank (*gonsōjō*).

11·29: Yokei, a leader of Enchin's faction, is nominated the head priest of Hosshōji. Twenty–two priests of Ennin's faction, flanked by one hundred sixty assistant priests, hold a demonstration against Yokei's nomination at the residence of the Regent, Fujiwara Yoritada.

12·13: Yokei resigns from the post of head priest of Hosshōji before his inaugural ceremony.

982 (Tengen 5) age 71

1: Ryōgen is summoned to the imperial court to defend his position during the inter-factional conflicts within the Tendai school.

983 (Eikan 1) age 72

3·22: Ryōgen attends the opening ceremony of Ennyūji with Jinzen. Ryōgen is granted 20 ordinands to serve him.

4·15: The era changes from Tengen to Eikan.

7·16: Ryōgen writes the *Kongōkai nenjufu,* a Verse Contemplating the Diamond Realm, and send it to his friend Genkō, a Shingon priest.

10·25: Ryōgen officiates at the opening ceremony of Yakushidō at Yokawa. The Hall is donated by Fujiwara Kaneie.

11·27: Ryōgen officiates at the opening ceremony of Eshinin at Yokawa. The Hall is donated by Fujiwara Kaneie.

984 (Eikan 2) age 73

- Ryōgen officiates at a service for the prosperity of Kaneie's family at Kazan Myōgōbō.

12: Ryōgen becomes ill and moves his residence to Sakamoto Guhōji at the foot of Mount Hiei.

985 (Eikan 3) age 74

1·3: Ryōgen dies.

2·27: Jinzen succeeds Ryōgen to become the nineteenth abbot of Enryakuji.

987 (Kanna 3)

2·16: Emperor Ichijō gives Ryōgen the posthumous name Jie.

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GLOSSARY

Abe Sadayuki (ca. 9th century)	阿部貞行
Aiba, family	饗庭
ajari	阿闍梨
Akiteru, Fujiwara	朝光(藤原)
akusō	悪僧
Amida	阿弥陀
ango	安居
Anjin (?-998)	安眞
Ankyō (896-977)	安鏡
Anna	安和
Anne (794-868)	安慧
Annen (841-889?)	安然
Anshi, Fujiwara (927-964)	安子(藤原)
Anshū (893-971)	安秀
Asake-gun	朝明郡
Aya, clan	漢(氏)
Azai-gun	浅井郡
Benzaiten	弁才天
Betsu Sanron, school	別三論(宗)
betsuin	別院
bettō	別当
Biwa, Lake	琵琶
Bonshakuji	梵釋寺
Bonshō (962-1032)	梵照
bonsō	凡僧
Bōsan (898-967)	房算
bosatsu jōshō	菩薩定性
bosatsukai	菩薩戒
busshō	佛性
busshōkai	佛性戒
Busshōshō	佛性抄
Butsudogi shiki	佛土義私記

butsujō	佛乘
Chan-jan (711-782)	湛然
chen-su i-ch'üan	眞俗一貫
Chên-yen, school (Shingon)	眞言(宗)
chih kuan	止観
Chih-i (538-597)	智顗
Chikō (ca. 10th century)	智興
Chikubushima	竹生島
Chikushi Kanzeonji	筑紫観世音寺
Chin-kuan fu-shing ch'uan-hung-chüeh	止観輔行傳弘決
Chinchō (883-964)	鎮朝
Chishōdaishi (Enchin, 814-891)	智證大師(圓珍)
Chōi (835-906)	長意
chōja	長者
chokusenshū	勅撰集
chokushi	勅使
Chōshin (d. ca 1005)	中信
Chōyū (904-982)	長勇
chu-fa shih-hsiang	諸法實相
Chüshê, school (Kusha)	俱舍
Chū hongakusan	註本覺讃
Ch'an	禪
Ch'êng-shih, school (Jōjitsu)	成實
Chūdō	中堂
Chūhengikyōzan	中辺義鏡残
chūnagon	中納言
chūrisshi	中律師
Chūsan (927-969)	仲算
dai-bucchō-hō	大佛頂
Dai Nihon shi	大日本史
Daianji	大安寺
Daibon-kyō	大品經
daihosshi	大法師
daiichigikai	第一義戒
Daiitoku myōō	大威徳明王
daiitokuhō	大威徳法
Daijikkyō (*Daishūkyō*)	大集經
daijō	大乘
daijōe	大乘会
Daijōhossōkenshinshō	大乘法相研神章
Daijōsanrondaigishū	大乘三論大義鈔
Daikichiji	大吉寺
Daikichisanji	大吉山寺
daimaō	大魔王
daimoku	題目

Dainichi	大日
Dainichiin	大日院
Dainichikyō-sho	大日經疏
dairi	内裏
dairisshi	大律師
daishi	大師
daishū	大衆
daisōjō	大僧正
daisōzu	大僧都
dajōdaijin	太政大臣
dajōkan	太政官
Danna-ryū	檀那流
denbōkanjō	傳法灌頂
Denjutsu isshinkai mon	傳述一心戒文
Dōchū (ca. 8th century)	道忠
doen-jukai	度縁受戒
Dōgen (1200-1253)	道元
dōji	童子
Dōkyō (-772)	道鏡
dosha	度者
dōshi	導師
Dōshō (629-700)	道昭
dōshū	堂衆
Dōsui (Tao-sui, ca. 8th-9th centuries)	道邃
dōtatsu	堂達
Edo, period (1603-1867)	江戸
Eigakuyōki	叡岳要記
Eikan	永観
Eikō	栄好
Eiso	永祚
Eizan daishiden	叡山大師傳
Eizan chūkō no so	叡山中興の祖
Ekan (ca. 7th century)	恵灌
Emperor Murakami (r. 946-967)	村上(天皇)
Emyō (Hui-ming , ca. 6th century)	惠明
Enchin (814-891)	圓珍
Enchō, era (923-931)	延長
Enchō (771-837)	圓澄
engaku jōshō	縁覺定性
Engi tenryaku gyokishō	延喜天暦御記鈔
Engi	延喜
engyō	円教
Enmyōin	延命院
Ennin (794-864)	圓仁
Enpō (ca. 10th century)	延峯

Enryaku, era (782-806)	延暦
Enryakuji	延暦寺
Enryakuji kinseishiki	延暦寺禁制式
Enshō (879-964)	延昌
Enshūji	円宗寺
En'yū, Emperor (959-991)	円融(天皇)
Eshin-ryū	恵心流
Eshinin	恵心院
Esshū	越州
Etsushū (Yüeh-chou)	越州
Fa-hsiang, school (Hossō)	法相(宗)
Fa-hua hsüan-i	法華玄義
Fa-hua wen-chū	法華文句
fo-shing	佛性
fo-hsing-chieh	佛性戒
fudan nembutsu	不断念佛
Fudō	不動
Fudō myōō	不動明王
Fujiwara, family	藤原(氏)
Fujiwara Arihira (892-970)	藤原在衡
Fujiwara Fuminori (909-996)	藤原文範
Fujiwara Hidesato (ca. 10th century)	藤原秀郷
Fujiwara Kaneie (929-990)	藤原兼家
Fujiwara Kanemichi (925-977)	藤原兼道
Fujiwara Koretada (924-972)	藤原伊尹
Fujiwara Morosuke (908-960)	藤原師輔
Fujiwara Motokata (died 953)	藤原元方
Fujiwara Michinaga (966-1027)	藤原道長
Fujiwara Sadakata (873-932)	藤原定方
Fujiwara Saneyori (900-970)	藤原実頼
Fujiwara Tadahira (880-949)	藤原忠平
Fujiwara Tadanobu (967-1035)	藤原斉信
Fujiwara Yoritada (923-989)	藤原頼忠
Fujiwara Yoshifusa (804-872)	藤原良房
Fujiwara Mototsune (836-891)	藤原基経
fujōsho	不定性
Fukuoka, prefecture	福岡(県)
Fukuyama Toshio	福山敏男
Funaki Yoshimi (ca. 9-10th centuries)	船木良見
Furuna	富楼那
fusatsu	布薩
Futsūju bosatsukai kōshaku	普通授菩薩戒広釋
Gajō (886-967)	賀静
gakushō	学生
Gangōji	元興寺

Ganjin	鑑眞
ganzan	元三
Ganzan daishi	元三大師
ganzan'e	元三会
genbaryō	玄蕃寮
Genbō (-746)	玄昉
gengakushō	還学生
Gengyōji	元慶寺
Genkei (891-966)	玄慶
Genken (976-1020)	源賢
Genshin (942-1017)	源信
genza	験者
genze riyaku	現世利益
giō	欺誑
Gion	祇園
Gionsha	祇園社
Gishin (781-833)	義真
Gishō (920-969)	義昭
godanhō	五壇法
goganji	御願寺
goji	五時
gokoku no sanbukyō	護国三部経
gokoku	護国
goma	護摩
Gomigi shiki	五味義私記
gon shōsōzu	権少僧都
gon daisōjō	権大僧正
gondaisōzu	権大僧都
gonhōmu	権法務
Gonkyū (943-1008)	厳久
gonrisshi	権律師
gonshōsōzu	権少僧都
gonsōjō	権僧正
Gonzō (or Ginsō, 758-827)	勤操
goryō'e	御霊会
Gosai'e	御斎会
Goshūi wakashū	後拾遺和歌集
Gotōin	後唐院
goun	五蘊
Gozu, school	牛頭(宗)
Guketsu getenshō	弘決外典鈔
gunryō	郡領
gusokukai	具足戒
gyakushū	逆修
gyōbusshō	行佛性

Gyōen (ca. 9th-10th centuries)	行円
Gyōhyō (721-797)	行表
Gyōki (668-749)	行基
Gyokusenji	玉泉寺
hannyaji	般若時
Heian, period (794-1191)	平安
Heiankyō	平安京
Heike monogatari	平家物語
Heishū (ca. 9th-10th centuries)	平州
Heizei, Emperor (774-824, r. 806-809)	平城
Henjō (816-890)	遍照
Hiei, Mount	比叡
Hieisanji	比叡山寺
Higashi Sakamoto	東坂本
hijiri	聖
Hirabayashi Moritoku	平林盛得
Hirohira, Prince (950-971)	広平
Hishōgi shiki	被接義私記
hōben	方便
Hōchibō Shōshin (ca. 12th-13th century)	宝地房證眞
Hōdōin	宝幢院
hōdōji	方等
hōe	法会
Hokkaibō	法界坊
hokke	法華
hokke-chōkō	法華長講
Hokke-genki	法華験記
hokke hakkō	法華八講
Hokke jikkō	法華十講
Hokke kōe	法華講会
Hokke-kyō	法華經
Hokke-mongu	法華文句
hokke-nehanji	法華涅般時
hokke-senbō	法華懺法
Hokkedaie	法華大会
Hokkedō	法華堂
hokke'e	法華会
Hokkegengi	法華玄義
hokkezanmai	法華三昧
Hokkezanmaidō	法華三昧堂
hokkyō sandaie	北京三大会
hōmu	法務
Hōnen (1133-1212)	法然
Hori Daiji	堀大慈
Hōryūji	法隆寺

Hosoehama	細江浜
Hosshōji	法性寺
Hossō, school (Fa-hsiang)	法相(宗)
Hōzō (Fa-tsang, 643-712)	法藏
Hōzō (904-968)	法藏
hsing-ch'i	性起
hsing-chü	性具
hsing fo-hsing	行佛性
Hsiu-jan (ca. 8th-9th centuries)	翛然
Hua-yen, school (Kegon)	華嚴(宗)
Hui-ming (ca. 6th century)	惠明
hyakkai	百界
Hyakurenshō	百練鈔
i-ch'an-t'i	一闡提
I-ch'eng-chieh	一乘戒
i-ch'ieh chung-sheng hsi-yu fo-hsing	一切衆生悉有佛性
I-hsing (682-727)	一行
ichibutsujō	一佛乘
Ichigyō (682-727)	一行
ichijitsu enkyō	一實圓教
ichijō	一乘
Ichijō, Emperor (980-1011, r. 986-1011)	一条
ichijō kaie	一乘開会
ichijōkai	一乘戒
Ichijōshikan'in	一乘止観院
ichimon	一門
igishi	威儀師
ikō	已講
Ingen (950-1028)	院源
inmyō	因明
inshi	院司
inshin	印信
inu shiten	戌四点
Ise, province	伊勢
issai shujō kaijōbutsu	一切衆生皆成佛
issai shujō shitsuu busshō	一切衆生悉有佛性
issendai	一闡提
isshin	一身
isshin ajari	一身阿闍梨
Isshin ajari bunin shidai	一身阿闍梨補任次第
Ittei	壱定
ittoku yōfushitsu	一得永不失
Iwabuchidera	岩淵寺
jibushō	治部省
Jie	慈恵

Jie daishi	慈恵大師
Jie daishi den	慈恵大師傳
Jie Daishi Ryōgen (912-985)	慈恵大師良源
Jie daisōjō den	慈恵大僧正伝
Jie daisōjō shūiden	慈恵大僧正拾遺傳
Jiei (ca. 9th century)	慈叡
Jijūden	仁寿殿
Jikakudaishi (Ennin, 794-864)	慈覚大師圓仁
Jikidō	食堂
jikkai	十界
jikyōsha	持經者
jimon	寺門
jimon-ha	寺門派
Jimon kōsōki	寺門高僧記
Jingikan	神祇官
Jinshin (ca. 10th century)	尋眞
Jinzen (943-990)	尋禪
jishō-shōjō	自性清浄
jishu	寺主
jishusanshōsai	地主三聖祭
jisō	事相
Jisshō (891-956)	實性
jissō	實相
Jitokuji	慈徳寺
Jitsuin	実因
jō	掾
Jōan (924-998)	静安
Jōdo	浄土
Jōe (907-984)	乗恵
jōgakuji	定額寺
Jōgan	貞観
Jōgen	貞元
Jōgyōdō	常行堂
Jōgyōzanmaidō	常行三昧堂
Jōhei, era (931-937)	承平
Jōjitsu, school (Ch'êng-shih)	成實(宗)
Jōkei (1155-1213)	貞慶
Jomei, Emperor (592-641, r. 629-641)	舒明
Jōshinbō	定心房
Jōshin'in	定心院
jōshō nijō fujōbutsu	定性二乘不成佛
jōza	上座
Jōzō (887-964)	浄蔵
ju-lai-ts'ang	如来蔵
jūigishi	従威儀師

Jujō (ca. 10th century)	壽肇
jukai	受戒
jukaishiki	受戒式
Jumyōkyōsho	壽命經疏
Jungyō (Shun-hsiao, ca. 8th-9th centuries)	順暁
Jutsushi, Fujiwara (ca. 10th century)	述子(藤原)
jūjūkinkai	十重禁戒
Jūjūshinron	十住心論
jūnyoze	十如是
jūzenji	十禪師
Kageyama Haruki	影山春樹
Kaguraoka	神楽岡
kaidan	戒壇
Kaidan'in	戒壇院
kaitai	戒體
Kakuchō (960-1034)	覚超
Kakue (871-954)	覚恵
Kakuen (1030-1098)	覚圓
Kakukei (927-1014)	覚慶
Kakukū	覚空
Kakunin (ca. 10th century)	覚忍
Kakuun (953-1007)	覚運
Kamakura, period (1192-1333)	鎌倉
kambun	漢文
Kamijingūji	上神宮寺
Kammu, Emperor (737-806, r. 781-806)	桓武
kampaku (kambaku)	関白
kandaiji	官大寺
Kanehito, Crown Prince (later Emperor Ichijō, 980-1011)	懐仁
Kaneie, Fujiwara (929-990)	兼家(藤原)
Kanemichi, Fujiwara (925-977)	兼通(藤原)
Kanfugen-gyō	観普賢經
kangaku'e	勧學会
kanjō	灌頂
Kanjō (Kuan-ting, 561-632)	灌頂
kanjō-dōjō	灌頂道場
kanjōdō	灌頂堂
Kankeiji Kanshin'in	観慶寺感神院
Kanna	寛和
Kannon	観音
Kannon-maru	観音丸
Kannon'in	観音院
kano moya ni haberu	侍彼喪家
Kanri (894-974)	観理
Kansei shijō	官制四条

Kanshū (994?-1008)	観修
Kantō	関東
Kanzeonji	観世音
Kasuga myōjin	春日明神
Kazan, Emperor (968-1008, r. 984-986)	花山
Kazan Myōgōbō	花山妙業房
Kazanji	花山寺
kebiishi	検非違使
kechien	結縁
kechien hakkō	結縁八講
kechien kuge'e	結縁供花会
Kegon, school (Hua-yen)	華嚴(宗)
Kegon-kyō	華嚴經
kegonji	華嚴時
Keimei (964-1038)	慶命
Keiyo	慶誉
keju shōkai	仮受小戒
ken	間
Ken hokkegi	顕法華義
ken-mitsu	顕密
ken-mitsu taisei	顕密体制
kengaku ryūgi	研學竪義
kengyō, exoteric teaching	顕教
kengyō, supervisor	検校
Kenkairon	顕戒論
Ken'yōdaikairon	顕揚大戒論
Ketsugishū	決疑集
kichō	季帳
Kii, province	紀伊
Kikyō (888-966)	喜慶
Kiren (883-958)	喜蓮
Kitaiwakura	北岩倉
kitōsō	祈祷僧
Kizō (871-937)	基増
Kōdō	講堂
kōe	講会
Kōfukuji	興福寺
kōgaku	広學
kōgaku ryūgi	広學竪義
Kōho	康保
kōi	綱維
Kōjō (779-858)	光定
Kokiden	弘徽殿
koku	斛(石)
kokubunji	国分寺

kokubun'niji	国分尼寺
Kokuseiji	国清寺
kokushi	国師
Kokuzōhō	虚空蔵峯
kōkyō	講經
komikkyō	古密教
Kongōchō-kyō	金剛頂經
kongōkai	金剛界
Kongōkai nenjufu	金剛界念誦賦
Kōnin, era (810-823)	弘仁
Konkōmyō-kyō	金光明經
Konponchūdō	根本中堂
Konponkannondō	根本觀音堂
Konpon'nyohōdō	根本如法堂
Konpon'nyohōtō	根本如法塔
Koretada, Fujiwara (924-972)	伊尹(藤原)
koseki	戸籍
kōshi	講師
kōtō	勾当
Kōya, Mount	高野(山)
Kozu, clan	木津(氏)
Kozu-gō	木津郷
Kuan-ting (561-632)	灌頂
kubunden	口分田
Kudara	百済
Kuhon ōjōgi	九品往生義
Kuhon chūshaku	九品註釈
kujō	九条
Kujōdono	九条殿
Kumano, shrine	熊野
Kumo Sadayuki	雲貞行
Kuo-ch'ing-ssu	国清寺
Kuroda Toshio	黒田俊雄
Kusha, school (Chüshê)	俱舎(宗)
Kushida Ryōkō	櫛田良洪
kyōgen kigo	狂言綺語
kyōjushi	教授師
kyōke	京家
kyōzō	經蔵
Kyūreki itsubun	九曆逸文
Kyūshū	九州
Kūkai (774-835)	空海
Kūya (or Kōya, 903-972)	空也
li fo-hsing	理佛性
Lü, school (Ritsu)	律(宗)

Lung-hsing-ssu	龍興寺
makai no tōryō	魔界の棟梁
Makashikan (*Mo ho chih kuan*)	摩訶止観
mamedaishi	豆大師・魔滅大師
matsuji	末寺
Meigō	明豪
Meishū	明州
Michikane, Fujiwara (961-995)	道兼(藤原)
Midō kanpakuki	御堂関白記
Mie, prefecture	三重(県)
mihakkō	御八講
Mikawa	三河
mikyō kuyō	御経供養
Minamidani	南谷
Minamoto Mitsunaka (912-997)	源満仲
minazuki	六月(水無月)
minazuki'e	六月会
Ming-chou	明州
Ming-kuang (date not known)	明曠
Minō, Mount	箕面(山)
Minyu benwakushō	愍諭弁惑章
mishiho	御修法
Mitogaku	水戸学
Mitsu no obito Momoe	三津首百枝
Mitsuhama	三津浜
Mo ho chih kuan	摩訶止観
Mokusan (943-1008)	穆算
monja	問者
Monjudō	文殊堂
Monjurō	文殊楼
Mononobe, clan	物部(氏)
Morosada, Crown Prince (later Emperor Kazan, 968-1008)	師貞
Murakami, Emperor (927-967, r 946-967)	村上(天皇)
Murayama Shūichi	村山修一
Muromachi, period (1334-1560)	室町(時代)
Muryōgi-kyō	無量義經
mushō ujō	無性有情
Myōbetsugitsū shiki	名別義通私記
myōji sokushin jōbutsu	名字即身成仏
Myōku (945-1020)	明救
Nagaoka-kyō	長岡京
naigu	内供
naigubu jūzenji	内供奉十禅師
Nakatomi Kamatari (614-669)	中臣鎌足
nanja	難者

nanke	南家
nankyō sanne	南京三会
nanto rokushū	南都六宗
Nanzan Gokurakuji	南山極楽寺
Nara, period (710-794)	奈良(時代)
Nara, prefecture	奈良(県)
Nehan-gyō	涅般經
nembutsu	念佛
nenbundosha	年分度者
nenbundosha sei	年分度者制
Nenzen (ca. 10th century)	念禪
Nichiren (1222-1282)	日蓮
Niigata, prefecture	新潟(県)
nijūgozanmaie	二十五三昧会
nijūhachibonka	二十八品歌
niki no ryūgi	二季の竪義
Ninchū (ca 8th-9th centuries)	仁忠
Ninga (ca. 10th century)	仁賀
Ninnaji	仁和寺
Ninnō-hannya-kyō	仁王般若經
Ninnō-kyō	仁王經
Ninshō (ca. 9-10th centuries)	仁照
Nittō (ca. 9-10th centuries)	日燈
Niu-t'ou, school	牛頭(宗)
Nōka	苗鹿
Norihira, Crown Prince (950-1011, later Emperor Reizei, r. 967-969)	憲平
Nyohōdō	如法堂
nyohōkyō	如法經
Nyokaku (Fujiwara Takamitsu)	如覺
nyoraizō	如来蔵
Ogami Kanchū	尾上寛仲
Ōhashi	大橋
Ōi-gō	大井郷
Ōjōyōshū	往生要集
Okamoto-gō	岡本郷
Ōmi, province	近江
Onjōji denki	園城寺伝記
Onjōji	園城寺
Onkun (858-948)	恩訓
Ononomiya	小野宮
onryō	怨霊
Osaka, prefecture	大阪(府)
Ōtera	大寺
Ōtsu, city	大津(市)
Ōwa	応和

Ōwa shūron nikki	応和宗論日記
Ōwa no shūron	応和の宗論
Paekche	百済
Po Chü-i (772-846)	白居易
Raimei	頼命
Ranha Keishi (ca. 14th century)	蘭坡景茝
Reizei, Emperor (r. 967-969)	冷泉(天皇)
rensha	輦車
ri	理
ribusshō	理佛性
ridō jishō	理同事勝
riji kushō	理事倶勝
Risen (died 928)	理仙
rissha	竪者
risshi	律師
ritsu	律
Ritsu, school (Lü)	律(宗)
ritsuryō	律令
ritsuryō-sei	律令制
Rokuharamitsuji	六波羅密寺
Rokujōshiki	六条式
rokuonji	鹿園時
rokushū no chōja	六宗の長者
rongi	論議
Ryōgen (912-985)	良源
Ryōgon'in	楞厳院
Ryōgonzanmai'in	楞厳三昧院
Ryōhen (1194-1252)	良遍
Ryōjin hishō	梁塵秘抄
ryūgi	竪義
Ryūkōji	龍興寺
sadaijin	左大臣
Saga, Emperor (786-842, r. 809-823)	嵯峨
Saichō (767[766]-822)	最澄
Saidaiji	西大寺
Sairaiji	西来寺
saishōe	最勝会
Saitō	西塔
Saitōin	西塔院
Sakamoto Guhōji	坂本弘法寺
san-ch'ien yüan-chü	三千円具
san-chü ching-chieh	三聚浄戒
San-lun, school (Sanron)	三論(宗)
sanbu-daihō	三部大法
sandaibu	三大部

sandai'e	三大会
san'e ikō	三会已講
Saneyori, Fujiwara (900-970)	實頼(藤原)
Sange gakushōshiki	山家学生式
sangi	参議
sangō	三綱
sanjujōkai	三聚淨戒
Sankangi shiki	三觀義私記
sanmon	山門
Sanmon	山門
sanmon-ha	山門派
Sanmon-Jimon	山門-寺門
Sannō	山王
Sanron, school (San-lun)	三論(宗)
sanseken	三世間
santōsei	三塔制
sanzen engu	三千円具
Seiryōden	清涼殿
Seiwa, Emperor (850-880, r. 858-876)	清和
Sekisanzen'in	赤山禪院
sekkanke	摂関家
Senga (914-998)	遥賀
Senjuin	千手院
Senkan (918-983)	千觀
sennyō	千如
Sentō (918-989)	千到
sesshō	摂政
Settsu, province	摂津
Shakke kanhanki	釈家官班記
shakkyōka	釈教歌
shami	沙彌
shanagō	遮那業
shari	舎利
shari'e	舎利会
shiba	司馬
Shibunritsu	四分律
Shichishōgi shiki	七聖義私記
shido sō	私度僧
Shiga, prefecture	滋賀(県)
Shiga-gun	志賀郡
shih-ch'ung chin-chieh	諸法實相
shijōkōhō	熾盛光法
Shijōshiki	四条式
shijūhachi kyōkai	四十八軽戒
Shika daiji kokon denki	四箇大事古今傳記

shikan	止観
Shikanbugyōden guketsu	止観輔行傳弘決
shikangō	止観業
shike hakkō	私家八講
shikike	職家
shikikō	四季講
Shimotsuke Yakushiji	下野薬師寺
shimotsukie	霜月会
Shin'e	眞恵
Shingon	眞言
Shingon, school (Chên-yen)	眞言(宗)
Shingondō	眞言堂
shinpitsu Hokke mihakkō	宸筆法華御八講
Shinran (1173-1262)	親鸞
shinzoku ikkan	眞俗一貫
Shiōin	四王院
Shishi	忯子
shishi shinchū no mushi	獅子身中の虫
shishu-zanmai	四種三昧
shitsuu busshō	悉有佛性
shittan	悉曇
Shiyōki	指要記
shōen	荘園
Shōgonjitsukyō	照権実鏡
shōgu	性具
shohō jissō	諸法實相
shōjō	小乗
shōki	性起
Shōku (908-999)	聖救
Shōkū (d. 1007)	性空
shōmon jōshō	聲聞定性
Shōmu, Emperor (701-756, r. 724-749)	聖武(天皇)
shōrisshi	小律師
Shōrō	鐘楼
Shōron, school	摂論(宗)
Shōryaku	正暦
Shōsan (938-1011)	勝算
Shoshazan	書写山
shoson yuga goma hihō	諸尊瑜伽護摩秘法
shōsōzu	少僧都
Shōyūki	小右記
shū	宗
Shukunen (Hsiu-jan, ca. 8th-9th centuries)	翛然
Shun-hsiao (ca. 8th-9th centuries)	順暁
Shunei (ca. 10th century)	春叡

Shunsen (899-964) 春暹
Shuryōgon'in 首楞嚴院
Shuryōgon'inshiki 首楞嚴院式
Shutara, school 修多羅(宗)
Shūi wakashū 拾遺和歌集
shūyō-gika 宗要義科
sōgō 僧綱
sōgō-sei 僧綱制
sōgō-sho 僧綱所
Sōgōbunin 僧綱補任
sōhei 僧兵
Sōjiin 総持院
sōjō 僧正
Sōkan bunin 僧官補任
sokushinjōbutsu 即身成仏
sōni 僧尼
sōniryō 僧尼令
sonshōhō 尊勝法
Son'i (865-940) 尊意
Soshitsuji-kyō 蘇悉地經
soshitsujihō 蘇悉地法
sōzu 僧都
Ssu-fen-lü 四分律
ssu-shih-pa ch'ing-chieh 四十八輕戒
Sufukuji 崇福寺
Sukehime 祐姫
Suzaku, Emperor (923-952, r. 930-946) 朱雀
Ta jih ching shu 大日經疏
Tagawa, river 田川
Tagawa, village 田川
Tagawa Ōhashi 田川大橋
Taiheiki 太平記
taimitsu 台密
Taira no Kiyomori (1118-1181) 平清盛
Taira no Masakado (?-940) 平将門
Taira no Sadamori 平貞盛
Taishū 台州
taizōkai 胎蔵界
Takahashi Tomio 高橋富雄
Takamitsu, Fujiwara (ca. 10th century) 高光(藤原)
Takashima-gun 高島郡
Tamura Kōyū 田村晃祐
tandai 探題
Tannen (Chan-jan, 711-782) 湛然
Tao-sui (ca. 8th-9th centuries) 道邃

teguruma 辇車
Teishinkōki 貞信公記
Tenchō, era (824-833) 天長
Tendai, school (T'ien-t'ai) 天台(宗)
Tendai-san 天台山
Tendai zasu Ryōgen kishō 天台座主良源起請
Tendai zasu Ryōgen yuigō 天台座主良源遺告
Tendaidaishiku 天台大師供
Tendaihokkeshūgishū 天台法華宗義集
tendoku 転読
Tenen 天延
Tengen 天元
Tengusōshi 天狗草紙
Tengyō, era (938-947) 天慶
Tenji, Emperor (626-671, r. 668-671) 天智
Tenkai (1536-1643) 天海
Tenroku, era (970-973) 天禄
Tenryaku 天暦
Tentoku 天徳
ti-i-i-chieh 第一義戒
Tōdaiji 東大寺
tōgū gojisō 東宮護持僧
Tōji 東寺
tokudo 得度
Tokuitsu (781?-842?) 徳一
Tomohira, Prince (964-1009) 具平
Tōnomine 多武峯
Torahime-chō 虎姫町
Tōtō 東塔
Tōtōin 東塔院
tsuina 都維那
tsuizen 追善
Tsukikohime 月子女
Tsukushi, province 筑紫
tsunodaishi 角大師
T'ai-chou 台州
T'ien-t'ai, Mount 天台山
T'ien-t'ai, school (Tendai) 天台(宗)
uchirongi 内論議
Uda, Emperor (867-931, r. 887-897) 宇多
udaijin 右大臣
ujidera 氏寺
ujigami 氏神
Un'nichi (ca. 9-10th centuries) 運日
uzusama no hō 烏枢沙魔法

Wakayama, prefecture	和歌山(県)
warigo	割子
wu-hsing yu-ch'ing	無性有情
Yakushi Nyorai	藥師如来
Yakushidō	藥師堂
Yakushiji	薬師寺
Yamadera	山寺
Yamashiro, province	山城
Yamato, province	大和
Yamguchi Kōen	山口光円
Yokawa	横川
yokawa no kawahijiri	横川の皮聖
Yokawachūdō	横川中堂
Yokei (918-991)	余慶
yomikudashi	読み下し
Yoshidadera	吉田寺
Yōshō (903-990)	陽生
Yüeh-chou	越州
yuigon ni shitagatte	遺言にしたがって
Yuikai	遺戒
Yuima-gyō	維摩經
Yuimae	維摩会
zasu	座主
zazen	坐禪
Zen	禪
Zengei (902-980)	禪芸
Zentōin	前唐院
Zenyu (910-994)	禪愉
Zōga (917-1003)	増賀
Zōkai	増快
Zōkō (ca. 10th century)	増恒
zoku bettō	俗別当